The
World Tomorrow

APRIL, 1932

What About Violence?

Norman Thomas

FREE THE PHILIPPINES

Harold Fey

The War in the Far East

Sherwood Eddy

Must Japan Be Coerced?

An Editorial

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The World Tomorrow

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorials	99
What About the Use of Violence? By Norman Thomas	105
Free the Philippines. By Harold Fey	107
Good Friday (*verse*). By Helen Molyneaux Salisbury	109
The War in the Far East. By Sherwood Eddy	110
Poems on the Far Eastern Crisis (*verse*). By Toyohiko Kagawa	112
Recognition as an Instrument of Policy. By Amry Vandenbosch	113
Within Fascist Prisons. By Francesco Fausto Nitti	114
Not in the Headlines	116
Preparedness for Peace. By Lee Vrooman	117
Pacifism and the Catholic Church. By Herman Hoffmann	118
Negro Servant (*verse*). By Langston Hughes	119
The Book End	120
Correspondence	125
Findings	126
Announcements	127

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Helen Molyneux Salisbury's poems have appeared in a number of well-known periodicals, including the *Christian Century* and the *Literary Digest.*

Sherwood Eddy has just returned from a five months' tour in China, where he was an eyewitness to the capture of Mukden by the Japanese.

Toyohiko Kagawa is the renowned Christian leader of Japan.

Amry Vandenbosch is professor in the department of political science at the University of Kentucky.

Francisco Fausto Nitti, who escaped from the Italian penal colony for political prisoners, is the author of the sensational volume, *Escape.*

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Appearing in June

The Religion of Jesus and Radical Social Change

A series of seven significant articles by

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Kirby Page

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV April, 1932 No. 4

Editorials

The German Election

The Presidential election in Germany gives a fairly certain guarantee that the German people are resolved to attempt the solution of their domestic and international problems without resort to violence. Under an economic pressure such as no other modern nation has been called upon to bear, they have again renounced both Fascism and Communism. The fact that the Communists made only inconsiderable gains in the past two years is probably the most striking aspect of the election. They failed to achieve five million votes though some neutral observers had expected them to reach seven million. The Fascists doubled their vote and almost reached a total of twelve million, but they fell below their own expectations and have lost prestige by the election. They are now in a position in which the parliamentary way to power is closed to them and the revolutionary way seems closed as well. A party representing one-third of a nation cannot overthrow a government by either parliamentary or revolutionary means if the rest of the nation is able to achieve some degree of unity in resisting the attack. The German elections prove how difficult it is to achieve significant social change by parliamentary means and how much more difficult the revolutionary method is in a modern industrial nation.

The fact that the Socialists lost only a few votes to the Communists in spite of the fact that their candidate was reminiscent of the old militaristic Germany and was opposed by them in the last election is significant. Perhaps it means that Hindenburg's loyalty to the republic has completely outweighed the fact that he remains in his personal history something of a symbol of the old Germany. Perhaps it simply means that the more favored and secure German workers simply refuse to entertain the alternative of revolution as long as there is any hope of socializing society by progressive and evolutionary methods. The division of the proletarians into two groups, one expressing itself in terms of Socialism and the other in terms of Communism, is one of the most significant facts of modern social and industrial history. Social theorists who believe that industrial workers ought to remain united in one political party, whether Socialist or Communist, will probably fight vainly against the fact that the workers do not remain united. That lack of unity may be a good thing or a bad thing, but it remains an inexorable fact.

It is rather unfortunate that Hindenburg failed by a few thousand votes to achieve an absolute majority. Another election is now necessary, and though the old Field Marshal's victory is guaranteed, his symbolic significance as a figure representing united Germany will be somewhat reduced. After all, however, that significance has not been very great for some time. Germany is really three nations, and Hindenburg represents that part of the nation which, at least for the time being, would rather suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune than fly to others that it knows not of. It is the part of the nation which is composed of the less desperate workers and the less desperate middle classes, holding together against the more impoverished middle classes and the completely impoverished and altogether desperate workers. If Germany cannot repudiate her debts, the forces of radicalism on both the right and left will continue to grow. If she succeeds in a program of repudiation, a Socialist Germany within a decade, established without the aid of revolution, is a real possibility.

Must Japan Be Coerced?

Will Japan voluntarily relinquish control of Manchuria? Will she not only withdraw her army of occupation from the Shanghai area, but also restore to China administrative authority in Manchuria? The cumulative evidence leaves no room for doubt. The Japanese military authorities are digging in and will not respect the territorial and administrative integrity of Manchuria unless compelled to do so by terrific pressure from the outside.

Inducing the Japanese to evacuate the Shanghai area will be child's play in contrast to the enormous difficulty of securing their abandonment of armed control in Manchuria. The magnitude of the blunder in bombarding Shanghai is apparent to all except the blindest of the blind among Japan's militarists, and the Japanese government is heartily sick of the whole affair.

The situation in Manchuria, however, is utterly different. In its determination to maintain armed domi-

nation in that region as long as its rights and interests are jeopardized, the Japanese government undoubtedly has the vigorous support of a vast majority of its citizens. Need and precedent combine to convince patriotic Japanese that their government is entirely warranted in adopting a strong arm policy. The evidence of Japan's dependence upon Manchuria for supplies of coal and iron and food has been presented so frequently that repetition here is unnecessary. Readers of this journal scarcely need to be reminded that when Japan seized Manchuria she was merely following in the steps of other aggressive powers who by force of arms have changed the maps of the world. Complete control of the press and rigid censorship make possible the creation of the kind of public opinion which is enthusiastic in its support of armed intervention in Manchuria. The ease with which governments gain patriotic endorsement of their resort to armed hostilities is emphasized by the reminder that an overwhelming proportion of the people of the United States enthusiastically supported the armed subjugation of the Philippines by our government. The following quotation from an article published by a Japanese Quaker is illuminating:

> The feeling in Japan is that in the present case Japan's action is not only justified entirely but is so recognized already by the world. . . . If the pacifists and supporters of the League were firm in their belief that Japan failed to observe the provisions of certain treaties, even more angered and infuriated were the Japanese people at any such suggestion. From the Ministers of State, former ambassadors and other high authorities of the government, down to the humble laborer in the street, they were passionately convinced that their cause was justified. They were united in their resentment against the League for what they considered was the failure of the League to recognize Japan's legitimate claims and difficulties, when the Council seemed to coerce Japan to withdraw troops within an arbitrarily fixed period. Since then the resentment of the nation against the League has certainly subsided, but patriotism has been gradually intensified and the whole nation seems to be backing the troops stationed in Manchuria.

Moreover, the world is now confronted with a *fa accompli* in Manchuria. The Chinese officials hav been driven out, and for six months the Japanese mi tarists have ruled with an iron hand. The impote and pathetic young Henry Pu-yi, former Emperor, ha been installed as "dictator" in the "independent" Lan of Manchuria. The liberal and powerful Tokio dail the *Asahi*, says editorially: "Let us declare frankly t the world the inseparable relations between Japan an Manchuria. It is impossible that we should withdra from Manchuria now." Dr. Yoshino Sazuko, widel known as a liberal states man of Japan, writes:

> With its vast coal and iron deposits and other natural resources, it is believed that Manchuria is a mountain of treasure on which Japan has set one foot. It is further urged that there will be no future for Japanese industry unless the nation passes from light to heavy manufacturing, and this is another consideration which adds to the value and importance of Manchuria to Japan; to acquire Manchuria in some form or other is held to be a matter absolutely essential to the existence of the Japanese people. This is the belief in which the Manchurian expedition is applauded and supported by the nation. In essence, then, the expedition is an act of imperialistic advance. . . . Not that we are opposed to the expedition or that we want the military operations to be stopped.

Has He Uncorked Something?

—Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

There is, therefore, adequate basis for President Lowell's observation that "the public opinion of the world, on which so much reliance has been placed, has little effect on a nation that, believing itself in the right, has no material interference to dread." Thus it is apparent that the expectation that Japan will voluntarily disgorge is romantic and unrealistic.

Consequences of Acquiescence

Even more romantic and unrealistic than the hope of voluntary Japanese withdrawal is the contention that China will permanently submit to the loss of Manchuria. Nationalism is now moving across China with the speed of a prairie fire. Foreign invasion and loss of territory inflame patriots to the point of fury. In Manchuria there are 28 millions of Chinese and less than 250 thousand Japanese. The priceless resources

of Manchuria are desperately needed by impoverished China and will not be relinquished without a bitter and prolonged struggle. The longer the Japanese dominate that region, the more intense will become the hatred of Chinese patriots and the more resolute their determination to recover the lost provinces. Their economic boycott will continue to produce havoc in their own land as well as in Japan. But the most ominous consequence will be the driving of China into militarism. If other means fail, military preparedness and armed hostilities will eventually regain Manchuria for China. And at what a cost! A militarized China will be a terrible menace not only to Japan but to the peace of the world.

The economic and social consequences of prolonged occupation of Chinese territory will be disastrous to Japan as well as to China. The people of the former country are already carrying a terrific burden. Standards of living are pitifully low and the burden of taxation is already crushing. The national debt of Japan exceeds four billion yen, and the national budget has not been balanced for ten years, deficits being provided for by borrowing.

The extra appropriations required by the military expeditions into Chinese territory have already reached 100 million yen ($50,000,000 at ordinary exchange), and will consume 10 million yen monthly as long as maintained on the present scale.

Japan's credit has suffered disastrously as a result of her aggression, and further loans from abroad are difficult if not almost impossible. Within the past few days the Bank of Japan has been compelled to rescue five banks at Nagoyo from suspension. The financial situation is so threatening that there is serious talk of establishing fascist-military dictatorship. Should such a course be adopted, the roar of the deluge will be heard!

If Japan is permitted to succeed in swallowing Manchuria, the machinery of peace will be dealt an irreparable blow. The Government of the League of Nations, the Nine Power Pact, and the Briand-Kellogg Treaty will become torn scraps of paper, and confidence in pacific processes of settling international disputes will be shattered. The philosophy of militarism will be strengthened, disarmament made much more difficult, if not impossible, and the probability of another great war intensified.

If it is imperative that Japan be compelled to relinquish control of Manchuria, by what methods may this desirable result be accomplished? What effective steps could be taken by the League of Nations and the United States? Secretary Stimson pointed the way in his note of January 7, and his position has now been supported by the Assembly of the League. The nations have stated explicitly that they will not recognize the validity of any agreement or treaty which is wrested from China by violence. The vigor and independence exhibited by the representatives of some of the smaller powers have been impressive and heartening. But the Japanese invaders have not yet withdrawn from the Shanghai area. The flimsiest of excuses are being offered in the effort to delay evacuation and to exact terms with regard to Manchuria. Moral condemnation and the enunciation of a policy of refusal to recognize changes secured by armed action must be followed by more drastic measures if Japan is to be coerced into the abandonment of military domination of Manchuria.

What Sanctions Are Available?

Fortunately, effective non-military sanctions are available. The members of the League and the United States should say to Japan in the clearest language: "We do not propose under any circumstances to be drawn into armed hostilities against you, but in the interests of world peace we must insist that Japanese troops be withdrawn from Chinese territory, including Manchuria except in the leased railway zone, and that control of Manchuria be restored to China without delay; and if these steps are not taken within sixty days, a diplomatic boycott will be inaugurated, to be followed, if necessary, by an economic embargo. After the restoration of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria, we will bring effective international pressure to bear upon China to safeguard Japanese rights and interests within her territory."

Nothing short of a bold stand by the League, supported by the United States, will deter Japan from the absorption of Manchuria, with calamitous consequences to world peace. Failure to take this unequivocal position will be more perilous than to coerce Japan by non-military sanctions. Inaction or insufficient measures may cause more suffering than would be produced by diplomatic and economic pressure.

The objection is often raised that economic sanctions mean starvation of innocent victims. An effective blockade would certainly have this result and, therefore, seems to us indefensible. Under certain circumstances a complete boycott might lead to starvation. But irresisitble pressure can be brought to bear upon Japan without going to the extreme of starvation. An embargo against Japanese silk and a refusal to sell cotton and other raw materials to Japan would undoubtedly increase unemployment in that country and would place upon the government the responsibility of providing sustenance or running the risk of being overthrown by the suffering masses. The evidence is conclusive that the Japanese government could not resist diplomatic and economic pressure of the character we have outlined. Of all the available alternatives, a vigorous stand by the League seems to us to offer the most conclusive results, with a minimum of suffering. To acquiesce in Japan's seizure of Manchuria is to insure hatred, warfare and desolation.

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

What Should Chinese Pacifists Do?

Patriotic pacifists are confronted with an acid test when foreign troops devastate their cities. Under such circumstances to refrain from hatred and counter-violence is extremely difficult. No outsider has any justification in urging Chinese pacifists not to take up arms unless prepared to say that he is himself unwilling to engage in war under any circumstances.

A pacifist technique in China during the present crisis would include five measures. First, the refusal to hate the Japanese people, and the exploration of ways of expressing friendship for Japan. Members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in various Chinese cities have sent letters and cablegrams to pacifists and liberals in Japan committing themselves to pacific methods of settling all controversies between the two nations, and urging solidarity against the use of arms.

Second, Chinese pacifists should follow Mahatma Gandhi in adopting a policy of non-violent non-cooperation against Japanese aggression. The refusal to buy and sell on the part of the victims of flagrant injustice seems to us entirely justifiable.

Third, continued appeals should be made to the League of Nations and greater faith placed in international agencies of justice for an eventual solution of their controversy with Japan. Recent events in Geneva furnish a basis for increased confidence that the Assembly will steadily refuse to acquiesce in Japan's seizure of Manchuria. Indeed, the Chinese Government, in commenting upon the Assembly's resolution of March 11, expressed gratification that "all the principles of importance for which China has contended since the very inception of the Sino-Japanese dispute have been incorporated in the resolution."

Fourth, Chinese pacifists should combat militarism within and without. They should expose its futility and menace, and should repudiate jingoism in all its forms.

Fifth, patriotic pacifists in China should, in a spirit of penitence, acknowledge the tragic faults and weaknesses of their own people, especially the official and military classes, and should dedicate themselves to more intelligent, courageous and sacrificial public service.

So None Are Starving!

Governor after governor has wired Senator Bingham that within his state no persons are starving. It may be technically true to say that no human beings are *visibly* starving, and that if an individual in the last stages of hunger should be pointed out to the authorities, he would receive food. But if one desires a more realistic portrayal of the situation, he should secure a copy of a report recently issued by the Welfare Council of New York City, based on statements from some 900 social workers and public-health nurses, and published under the title, *An Impressionistic View of the Winter of 1930-31 in New York City.*

Moreover, the figures recently released by the City Affairs Committee in New York City should be studied. This committee estimated that there are now 900,000 people out of work in this city, and that of these, some 279,000 are in need of charity. About half of these persons are now being given relief by public and private agencies, which means that "the ugly fact behind these figures is that 141,000 families (perhaps half a million people) need relief in New York today and are not getting it. The richest city in the history of the world is feeding less than half of its citizens who are in distress."

Not only in New York City, but throughout the nation, *the American dole system* has broken down, and the failure to provide an adequate system of unemployment insurance is producing terrific havoc.

Violence Against the Hungry

Perhaps the recent tragic incident in Detroit, where four men were killed when Mr. Henry Ford's private police and the police force of the village dominated by him used guns, tear bombs and water against a mob of three thousand unemployed who demonstrated before his plant, will help to destroy the foolish delusions about Mr. Ford's humanitarianism which most Americans and many Europeans cherish. The real fact is that Mr. Ford is rather more than ordinarily ignorant about the human and social problems of industry and that his reactions to the fancied peril of this little mob were more than ordinarily stupid. He has played into the hands of the Communists who undoubtedly organized the demonstration and who are anxious to dramatize the reality of the class struggle in the most vivid terms possible.

Not only decency, but ordinary prudent intelligence demands that hungry and homeless men, driven to desperation, be treated with every possible consideration. The surprising thing is not that there should have been such a demonstration but that suffering workers should be so docile that the demonstration did not occur at an earlier date. It is regrettable that only the Communists seem to realize the necessity for such demonstrations to arouse both the workers and the general public to a realization of the desperate plight in which unemployed workers find themselves. The public imagination is too dull to understand the misery of the unemployed without such manifestations. If the industrial overlords have no better counsel than to meet every such incident with gun and fire, we may look forward to dismal years ahead of us. The social struggle is bound to be intensified in this country in the coming years, and if it is not to become pure violence on both sides, it will be absolutely necessary that the privileged groups acquire at least enough social intelligence to realize that their resort to violence on the

A Ruthless Answer to Hungry Men

(a) Troops should never be ordered on riot duty without an ample supply of ball ammunition. Blank cartridges should never be fired at a mob. If ball ammunition is expected from the first, moral effect is gained, it will not have to be used more than once, if at all. (Note When troops of the Illinois National Guard are ordered on active duty to suppress domestic disorders UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL BLANK AMMUNITION BE ISSUED TO THEM.

(b) NEVER FIRE OVER THE HEADS OF RIOTERS. The aim should be low, with full-charge ammunition and the battle sight, the rifles are sighted too high for the average riot distance and are very likely to wound some innocent person in the distance. If any one is to be hurt, it should be the rioters. (Note For the average case of domestic disorder at least 50% of the ball ammunition issued to the RIFLEMEN should consist of reduced charge (guard) ammunition. This will be found to be effective up to ACTUAL RANGES of 300 yards. IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT WHEN USING THIS TYPE CARTRIDGE, IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO USE INCREASED SIGHT SETTINGS.)

(c) TEMPORIZING WITH A MOB IS USUALLY AN EXHIBITION OF POOR JUDGMENT. It not only indicates weakness, but is injurious to the discipline of the troops. A vacillating commander cannot command obedience from his own troops, how can he expect to control a mob?

(d) A low-power cartridge is preferable for the usual riot duty. (See note to (b) above.) Riot shotguns with buckshot ammunition are effective at close ranges.

(e) Officers and men should not fear reprisal in case one or more people are killed. The laws of most states and the common law which prevails in others provide that if it is not proven that the killing was through mere malice, wantonness, or cruelty, a soldier is not punishable for such an act, even though he uses bad judgment. When an act is committed by command of a superior, it is the superior who is responsible, unless the command was manifestly illegal as soon as given. A subordinate is usually safe in accepting all commands given. (Note for details of the Illinois Military and Naval Code on this subject, see Appendix No. 1, G-1 Plan, paragraph 11).

(f) A subordinate should never be placed on riot duty with any definite restrictions as to the amount of force to be used. Sentries, patrols, or others detached from their superiors should be instructed to use whatever force may be necessary to carry out their orders and no more.

(g) Infantry should use great care in using bayonets against a mob many times larger. If a mob is allowed to surround the troops and hand to hand fighting results, the soldiers lose the advantage of both their superior weapons and their training, with the probable result of greater bloodshed, if not defeat for the troops. Cavalry may be used to advantage against a mob many times its size without resorting to rifle or revolver fire. With well trained horses, cavalry, assisted by infantry, can best perform riot duty.

(h) Men in front of a mob may be willing to retreat, but may be prevented by pressure from behind. In such cases a frontal attack is useless. When troops meet a closely packed crowd that cannot give way, parties should be detached to flank the crowd and break up its rear. The flanking parties should begin their work first. The frontal party should content itself with preventing any great disorder or any advances by the crowd until the work of the flankers is well under way when it should disperse the crowd before it.

(i) Troops should never be marched through crowded streets in times or places of riot, even though the crowd may not seem particularly hostile. In time of riots the streets should be kept clear and crowds dispersed as the troops proceed, otherwise should any incident cause trouble, the troops may be caught at a disadvantage.

(j) Rioters should not be permitted to throw missles at the troops, even though they be of such nature that they cause no serious injury. It lessens respect for the troops and thereby increases the rioting.

(k) Crowds should not be allowed to form. Everyone should be kept moving constantly and all small groups broken up. With no crowds, there are no mobs; with no mobs, there are no serious riots.

The managers of theaters and places of amusement in affected neighborhoods should be instructed that no sentiments antagonistic to the restrictions of law and order will be permitted.

18. If troops start to execute a duty ordered by proper authority, there should be no stopping until the desired results are accomplished, even though it becomes necessary to use extreme force. An appearance of retreat or temporizing with the crowd will have very bad effects and cause worse rioting.

20. Troops are called upon to put down disorder, absolutely and promptly, with as little force as possible. In the majority of cases the way to accomplish this is to use at once all force necessary to stop disorder.

21. Officers of troops aiding civil authorities should not permit the latter to indicate HOW THEIR DUTIES SHOULD BE performed. The civilians (civil authority) may tell the military authorities WHAT TO DO, BUT HOW IT IS TO BE DONE AND THE AMOUNT OF FORCE TO BE USED ARE PURELY MILITARY AND TACTICAL QUESTIONS TO BE DECIDED BY THE MILITARY OFFICERS. In case martial law has been declared, the civil authorities have no power whatsoever.

(Note: The practice that frequently occurred in the past of civil police authorities giving more or less detailed instructions to the troops as to how a particular task will be carried out, in other words, assuming command of the troops to all intents and purposes, will no longer be tolerated. For the law of the State of Illinois concerning this, see Appendix I of this plan. Hearty co-operation should be had with the local police authorities at all times, and all requests from them for troop assistance should be granted, PROVIDED, the tactical situation permits—When such assistance is rendered, troops will operate under the command of THEIR OWN OFFICERS and NOT UNDER THAT OF THE POLICE or other civil officials).

22. Act promptly. Do not appear to hesitate.

23. Troops should never approach a crowd, too large to make prisoners, in such a way that it is hemmed in on all sides. If a crowd has no retreat, resistance may be greater.

24. Officers should not neglect to provide a suitable reserve party no matter how weak that may make the attacking force. * * * * * * *

25. When necessary, a few sharpshooters or expert riflemen may be placed on roofs and in high windows to fire over the heads of those in the front of a crowd and break up the rear. Sharpshooters so placed are also very efficient in breaking up the practice of throwing stones or other missles at the troops from the rear of the crowd, as a sharpshooter from such a point of vantage can pick off individuals who so offend.

26. NEVER TRY TO BLUFF A MOB. Never threaten to do things you do not intend to do, or that you can not do, or that you know would be illegal if you do them. Should your "bluff" be called, the mob would then neither respect nor fear you and the result would probably be that the mob would become more lawless and outrageous.

28. The ruffian element of a community always takes advantage of a riot to commit acts of lawlessness, and frequently they cause the most trouble. These people are entitled to absolutely no consideration, and should be handled with a severe hand.

29. In case of general riot, the troops should NOT be divided into numerous small detachments to quell minor disorders at various scattered points. Detached engagements without decisive or material results do nothing but exhaust the troops and encourage the rioters.

30. By means of detectives, or scouts in civilian clothing, the commanding officer should keep himself constantly informed of the movements and purposes of the rioters.

2. "THE IMPORTANCE OF QUELLING RIOTS IN THEIR INCIPIENT STAGE.

31. Mobs, are, by their nature, peculiarly liable to dejection or elation; they sneak into their hiding places or swarm into the streets directly. . . . . .

Reprinted from pages 52 and 53 of the booklet, "Emergency Plans for Domestic Disturbances," published and secretly circulated by headquarters of the 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard.

slightest provocation will easily produce a social situation in which our society cannot be saved and reorganized without blood and tears. The effort to hold men in the hungry mob responsible for the four fatalities, when most of the evidence points to the fact that all the guns were on the side of the police, will merely add fuel to the flames of social revolt which are beginning to break out in this country. Will the Bourbons never learn a lesson from history?

The New Tax Bill

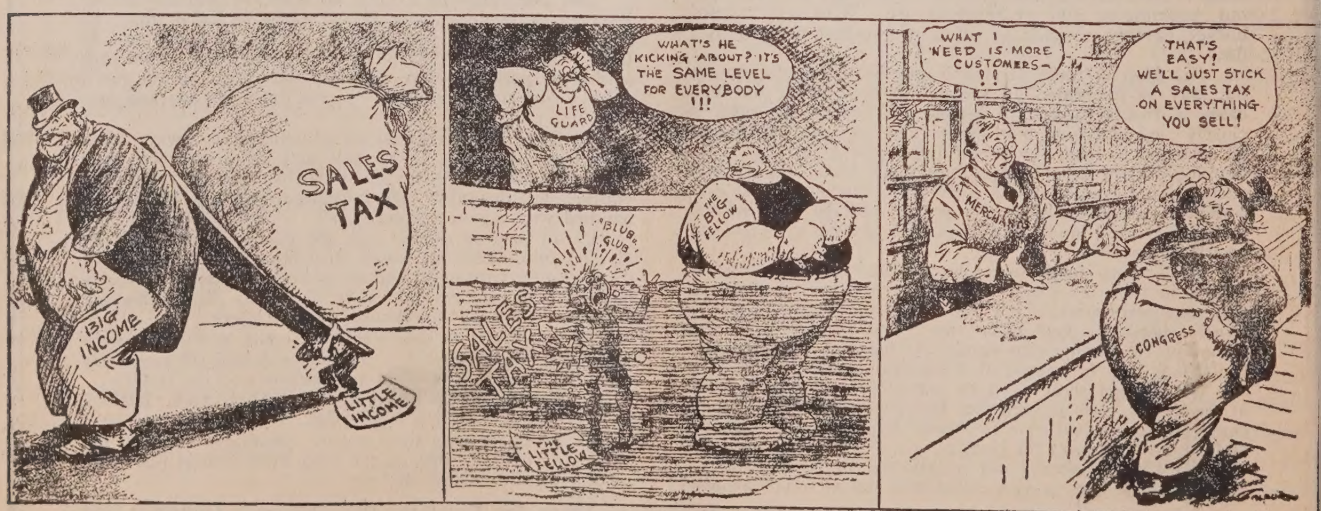
The tax bill now before Congress is an interesting revelation of the class character of government. It proposes to cover one-half of the billion dollar deficit for 1933 with a sales tax of 2¼ per cent. Only $112,000,000 additional taxes are to be raised by increasing the levy on incomes; and inheritance taxes are to yield only $35,000,000, less than the amount which is anticipated from amusement taxes. The whole bill is obviously designed to place the least possible burden upon the wealthy. The suggestion that a sales tax is the most equitable of all taxes because it falls with equal severity upon all sections of the population is pure hypocrisy. A tax which increases the living costs of people with an income of $1,200 in the same proportion as the costs of people with a $12,000 income lacks every vestige of social justice. It is just as iniquitous as all these appeals for equality of sacrifice in a world in which there is no equality of privilege. People who relinquish a percentage of their luxuries and comforts cannot possibly sacrifice as much as those who are forced to give up a portion of their necessities.

The fact that the Democratic Party, in the main, supports the sales tax proves how completely it has sacrificed the opportunity of initiating even mild alternatives to Republican reactionary policies. Its main concern is to prove itself safe to the business world. The prospect of having this party parade in the country a few months hence as the savior of the nation fil the soul with horror. Is the world not full enough hypocrisy without the addition of these Democrat pretensions? From whatever angle it is surveyed, th political life of our nation is in a sorry state of mor and social confusion.

Fortunately, the Republican-Democratic conspira to save the rich taxpayers is not succeeding witho being challenged. The House insurgents have r stored income tax schedules to war-time levels, an they insist that they will not accept the compromise o the sales tax which the badly scared regulars are offe ing them in the form of exemptions on food and clot ing. Whether the House insurgents compromise c not, the country is now sufficiently aroused to make th passage of the bill in the Senate almost an impossibi ity. Public hearings in the Senate Finance Committe will give the rank and file voters of America a real op portunity to voice their objections and to show Co gress and the country where the money can be foun to balance the budget.

The device of claiming that it is the patriotic dut of Congressmen to swallow the sales tax because ther is no alternative to it, a device which Speaker Garne initiated and which all the great newspapers with fe exceptions have supported with pious unction, is th shoddiest of all political tricks. It would yield the na tional budget a cool billion dollars if we adopted th income tax schedules for British taxpayers. Th House leader, Henry T. Rainey, is reported privatel to favor a 60 per cent inheritance tax. Party politic prevents him from espousing such a policy openly.

In one respect this whole tax scheme has been good thing. It has revealed the political bankruptc of the Democratic Party more clearly than has any thing in recent governmental history. If liberals stil hold out hope for it as an instrument of real socia change, they must put themselves in the category o political imbeciles.



Talburt in The New York World-Telegram

What About the Use of Violence?*

NORMAN THOMAS

OURS is a generation which reads Remarque, weeps over *Journey's End,* signs a Kellogg Pact to outlaw war, knows the deadliness of modern means of destruction, and then with an amazing degree of unanimity accepts large-scale violence as inevitable or in some circumstances almost desirable. It is this psychological attitude, this predisposition to a kind of collective suicide, which makes the future so dark. . . .

There can be no question but that there has been within the last year and a half an enormous growth of conviction in the United States that there can be, or at any rate will be, no fruitful social change save by violent revolution. The men and women who profess this belief very seldom belong to the small Communist Party. Some of them are a rather unadmirable type of parlor reds who take out in talk their social heresies. These men and women, usually intellectuals or at least college graduates, are simply compensating for the futility of their actions by the violence of their opinions. Not all those who accept or expect violence fall under this condemnation. Once, after I had delivered an address on this subject at a college, I was told that a class which had been reading my book, *America's Way Out: A Program for Democracy,* had decided unanimously that they sympathized with my ends, but that they could only be achieved through violence. Among those workers who take part in forum discussions there is a pathetic and illogical assurance that capitalism is too strong for the labor unions or a political party of the workers and that *therefore* we must wait for the violent revolution, which by some blissful certainty will be the right sort of revolution, bound somehow to make the weak wise and strong. Meanwhile, these future revolutionists docilely take what they can get from the old-line economic and political bosses.

It is easy to smile at this modern version of the old apocalyptic hope of persecuted Jews and Christians that the worse things become, the nearer is the day of their salvation. It is, however, by no means certain that the exploited who neglect to use effectively the opportunities they now have may not in some moment of crisis, let us say in the misery of new world war, find a strength of violent revolution which now they lack. It is even now significant that the Communists in New York and other cities can find more men and women occasionally to demonstrate with them even at the risk of police attack than to vote with them. . . .

The need of non-violent means of coercing the exploiter or of struggling against injustice is of particular importance when we examine the reasons for violence on the part of the workers. It is untrue to say that "violence never works." It may be terribly costly, but it has gotten results. In moderate doses, as Louis Adamic has said, it has been publicity for the under dog. It also serves as warning that he may have power. Slaves content to be slaves, workers content to starve quietly, never get deliverance from heaven or from sheer human kindness. And the natural vehicle of their protest, especially given our Western traditions (quite unlike the Indian tradition to which Gandhi has appealed), is some degree of violence. No honest and intelligent person can say that in our imperfect democracy we have a polite and easy substitute for violence in the right to organize unions and to vote. The most we can say is that there is a power in them not adequately asserted by the workers of America. Ballots are better than bullets and an organized strike than a riot. The history of such considerable labor violence as was used by the Molly Maguires, the Pittsburgh and Baltimore rioters of the seventies, and the dynamiters in Los Angeles, is a history of a great setback for labor. It was not altogether useful publicity for the under dog! Yet he lacks imagination who does not see why the harassed worker or striker, seeing his job taken and his struggle defeated by a scab under police protection, finding himself evicted, perhaps at night, from his home, takes to himself a stone, a club or a gun rather than a ballot. No exploited class can afford to let the masters think it will not use violence unless it can discover a more effective instrument of struggle than violence.

IT is true that the record of labor violence in American labor struggles on both sides is grim, yet Mr. Adamic would have given a fairer picture in *Dynamite* if he had pointed out that the whole labor struggle in England and America since the beginning of the industrial revolution, a struggle against the most abominable exploitation, has thus far been carried on on with only a tithe of the violence which marked a single day when all was quiet on the Western front. It is the glory of the labor movement that it has gone as far as it has in perfecting a comparatively non-violent means of struggling for justice by the strike. Hope lies in developing such means of resistance. For the workers merely to renounce violence with no substitute in sight would be to play into the hands of the oppressor.

* Taken from a forthcoming volume entitled *As I See It,* to be published by The Macmillan Company.

Our present concern is not with the occasional and almost incidental use of violence but with the acceptance of it as *necessary* for revolutionary ends. Here we face not only, it is alleged, lack of a substitute for violence, but a positive advantage in the drama and ruthlessness of the final act of violence at the revolutionary moment. . . .

Nevertheless, in the history of mankind not all struggle has meant war. There has been no relation whatever between the proportion of violence and the proportion of social achievement. The lurid lights of the French revolution have blinded men. I shall not argue, as I might, that some of its violence was more accidental and incidental, more rooted in the crimes and blunders of particular men than immutably decreed as the birth pangs of a new order of society. Rather let me point out once more that some of the cruelest wars in history have been dynastic or personal, almost without social significance, while profound changes in human institutions and the distribution of property and power have been attended by little or no violence. If the struggle for the emancipation of women is not wholly analogous to class or national struggle, it is at least significant that chattel slavery was abolished in every country but the United States without violence, and that the shift from feudalism to capitalism was accomplished in England without internal violence after the Cromwellian wars, and in Japan within scarcely more than a generation with only a trifling revolt.

IF history is not wholly on the side of inevitable violence, neither is a common-sense view of existing conditions. The resources of science for destruction can be as well applied to civil as to foreign war. The barricade is a futile and archaic symbol of revolution against a government which can keep the loyalty of its air squadrons. From the air was popular revotion in Cuba defeated and the mutiny of the Chilean navy conquered. If a government cannot keep the loyalty of the air forces, there need be no barricades. The very complexity of the processes for feeding the industrial masses is another reason why the headlong appeal to a violence which may cut off water and milk and food will be self-defeating.

The moral of this is twofold. It applies to two opposite groups. It is, first of all, a moral for those whose acceptance of violence makes them hold aloof from, or sneer at, the effort to produce results by political organization and action. Such action if successful may make your violent revolution unnecessary; if not, it is likely greatly to reduce the resistance that will be offered to workers used to acting together. It is a thousand times worth trying. Nor are we who want to try these orderly and legal ways of serving labor's cause eternally wedded to legalism. We want to escape the onus of seeking violence, an onus which has done immense harm to American radicalism among the very people it would serve. We want to put the onus of love of violence where it rightly belongs, on those who scruple at no trickery or force to hold the unjust power and privilege they have. But the weapons of non-violent revolutionaries will not always be wholly and solely legal. Under conditions that make it necessary they will seeks ways to interpret and apply in the West those methods of demonstration and non-violent coöperation which Gandhi has thus far employed with amazing success in the Indian revolution. There are times when honest men must explain why they are not in jail, and when a willingness to endure without flinching is more effective than the will to fight. The final and most difficult revolution will not be in the ends men seek but in the means they use.

BUT—and here is the second part of this moral—the responsibility for violence is never chiefly on those who rise at last against oppression. It is rather on those whose selfishness, apathy and stupidity make them stand unyieldingly for their privileges at no matter what cost of violence—usually vicarious! There are well-meaning folks who talk almost like Tolstoians when labor is accused of violence, who will not understand that they are themselves the beneficiaries of the latent or actual violence of the unjust social order against which long exploited classes and races some day will rebel. The critic of labor or revolutionary violence is an arrant hypocrite unless he does all that in him lies to open those paths of free, non-violent progress on which our hope depends!

How great is that hope? Each month of drift makes it less. But still the cost of the acceptance of violence in the age of airplanes and poison gas is so great that we shall not forgive ourselves nor will our children forgive us if we do not seek a better way.

History is written by survivors, and some survivors there will be from the series of violent struggles toward which we drift. In some far distant future these survivors may complacently boast of gains out of these losses which now we contemplate. But to our generation who must endure and suffer, go mad with hate and fear and lust of blood, the possible optimism of future historians can have no meaning. If we are to endure for any reason whatsoever this anguish of suffering, this madness of hate and destruction, better for us by far that we had never known the beauty, the hopes, the dreams, the friendships by which alone we live. What have we to do with hopes and dreams and remembered delights who are predestined cannon fodder, foredoomed victims of the destruction that will fall on us from the skies and rise to overwhelm us from the earth? It is because such violence will be the destruction at least of a generation that its easy acceptance is an enemy to be fought without quarter as we hope for life.

Free the Philippines

HAROLD FEY

IN 1898 Eastern Asia was a shambles in which international highwaymen plundered ancient peoples at will. Russia had just seized South Manchuria, occupying that rich country almost as completely as Japan has done this winter. Germany pounced upon Shantung and sent her fleet roving into Manila Bay. England was extorting her pounds of flesh in Weihaiwei and in the Yangtze area. Japan was tightening her grip on Formosa and Korea. France was consolidating her gains in Indo-China and Yunnan. The impression was general that everything was going to pieces in the Orient, and that if nations did not take Opportunity by the forelock they alone would be to blame. Imperialism was not to have another such heyday until Versailles.

This was the background against which the representatives of the United States negotiated the Treaty of Paris, which was to precipitate America into the bloody arena of Oriental politics through our retention of the Philippine Islands. In spite of the fact that nearly everybody condoned the universal looting, a few voices in each country were raised in protest. Senator Gray, one of the two Democrats who represented the United States on the peace commission at Paris, cabled home a prophetic paragraph whose alarms have been almost literally fulfilled in the thirty-three years that have followed:

> Policy proposed . . . will make necessary a navy equal to the largest of powers, a greatly increased military establishment, immense sums for fortifications and harbors; multiply occasions for dangerous complications with foreign nations, and increase the burden of taxation. . . . Conceding all benefits claimed for annexation, we thereby abandon the infinitely greater benefit to accrue from acting the part of a great powerful, and Christian nation.

In spite of Gray's warning, the treaty was ratified and we began our adventure in altruism by sending seventy thousand soldiers and spending four thousand lives and more than a hundred million dollars to destroy the first republic in the Far East.

Since our advent into the Philippines a third of a century has passed. America has had more than a generation to establish there our system of government, whose "necessary corollary," according to Secretary of War Hurley, is "a standard of civilization and living in a constant state of progress." Now bills are again before Congress challenging that body to consider whether our period of self-appointed tutelage over an unwilling and protesting people is completed—but this time new factors enter the situation.

Imperialism for the first time is seriously divided against itself. The vision of a peaceful Philippines as a distributing-point for American goods to the markets of Asia has faded, and in its place the stubborn competition of Filipino products in our domestic market looms large. The usual refuge of a tariff is made difficult by the position of the Philippines as a dependency, and so from powerful sugar and farm lobbies is coming a new and unexpected support for the independence movement. Furthermore, Filipino labor, attracted by the same lures which brought their fellow Orientals from China and Japan in earlier waves of migration, has flocked to California, and from "that most conservative of fundamentalist churches, the American Federation of Labor," has gone up a wail demanding their exclusion. But exclusion is also hampered by the position of the Filipinos under our flag, and so "labor," in the questionable degree to which it is represented by the A. F. of L., is also demanding independence for the Philippines.

THE Filipino emphasis in the independence agitation has also shifted. A new sense of their rights has made the Filipinos demand not only independence, but independence under economically favorable conditions. The attitude which was expressed by the phrase, "immediate, complete, and absolute independence" has recently been supplemented by a new realism. Senate President Manuel Quezon, who has stood at the head of the independence movement for years, is the author of three alternative proposals regarding independence, which have secured the endorsement of the Philippine legislature. They do not abandon the insistence upon separation from America, but seek to conserve whatever economic development has come with America's advent into the islands.

Quezon's three proposals, in the order of their acceptability to the Filipinos, are:

> 1 Immediate establishment of an independent government, with free trade between America and the Philippines for a period of ten years, the amount of sugar entering the United States free of duty to be limited to one million tons, and cocoa-oil to the amount exported at present, and with restriction of Filipino labor immigration into the United States; or
>
> 2 If this is not acceptable, the immediate establishment of an autonomous government with all the consequent powers, including that of enacting measures considered necessary to meet the responsibilities of an independent government when independence is granted, with the restrictions necessary to safeguard the interests of American sovereignty in the Philippines. Within such period of ten years the trade relations between the United States will be the same as proposed in

the preceding paragraph. At the end of ten years the Filipino people will decide by means of a plebiscite if it desires to continue with such government or prefers to have one that is absolutely independent. In the latter case, American sovereignty will be immediately withdrawn from the islands; or

3 In the event that neither of the above proposals is acceptable, the Filipino people will welcome any bill granting Philippine independence in any form.

Having made these proposals, Senator Quezon is under no delusions as to what Congress may do with them. He pointed out to his countrymen that the greatest danger to the Philippines is that they may be entirely ignored by Congress. His next fear was that they might receive independence but under such burdensome conditions that it would ruin the country. Finally, he was apprehensive that they might not get any sort of independence, but that Philippine products and immigration into the United States would be restricted. This last fear was completely realized in the Administration program for the Philippines, which was laid before the House Committee on Insular Affairs on February 10, 1932, by Secretary of War Patrick Hurley.

The Secretary used a fifth of his message to bewail the fate of the Moros, who constitute about one-thirtieth of the population, should they fall into the hands of their Christian countrymen. By again stirring up religious strife between two groups of the Philippine population, which is racially and culturally far more homogeneous than most modern nations, he merited the rebuke which Senator Hawes promptly gave him when he branded such argument as "political immorality." It is universally acknowledged that the Moros were never more peaceful or better governed than they were during the World War years, when their development was entirely in the hands of Christian Filipinos. It stands to reason that the latter would not then have taxed themselves to build roads and schools for their poverty-stricken countrymen if they had intended to persecute and exploit them on attaining independence.

A THIRD of the Hurley message was given to an attempt to prove that the islands are not economically ready to stand on their own feet. The Secretary assumed through his whole message that independence would mean an immediate application of the tariff to Philippine products—an assumption that no advocate of independence would grant for a moment. From this he reasoned, "The resulting shock would probably be reflected in unbalanced governmental budgets, loss of public confidence, extensive bank and business failures, the dissipation of the monetary reserves, currency inflation, collapse of public credit, operating deficits for the railroads, general unemployment and lowered wages and standards of living." (Incidentally, that is not a bad description of the present condition which exists in a certain independent country in whose Cabinet Secretary Hurley holds a prominent office.) "Under these conditions," said Hurley, "the maintenance of public order would present a serious problem."

All of the principal independence measures which are now before Congress provide a period in which the industries of the islands would have time for adjustment. Such a measure is certainly necessary if America is not to destroy in a very short time whatever gains in the standard of living our period of tutelage there may have brought. The Filipinos will gladly accept independence if the tariff is raised against them tomorrow, but they rightly feel that they should be given time for adjustment by a preferential tariff relationship, and that this should not prejudice their right to have complete independence at once. A glance at the story of the tariff laws we have made for the Philippines is sufficient to prove this point.

When the United States took over the islands, Philippine trade was well distributed throughout the principal markets of the world. The United States got only sixteen per cent of the total exports. Successive readjustments of the tariff, demanded by American business interests and adopted in spite of Filipino opposition, gradually unbalanced this distribution until, in 1930, seventy-two per cent of Philippine trade was with this country. This phase of our "altruism" has commonly been ignored by apologists for imperialism.

PHILIPPINE leaders find in their tariff relations with the United States an additional reason for seeking independence at this time. Dr. Maximo M. Kalaw, leading political economist and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of the University of the Philippines, summarized their conviction in these recent words:

> Judging from our history we cannot but conclude that we are allowed to progress economically only so long as such progress will not conflict with American products. Speaker Roxas was right when he said that the highest economic development possible under the American flag has been reached. From now on it will be on the decline, for competition has come. Let me repeat that the real issue in America is independence or economic discrimination, independence or inequality under the American flag. . . . Add to this the fact that the uncertainty as to our future prevents introduction of capital and we come to the conclusion that political separation is also an economic imperative. In the long run it will mean a sounder and more stable economic development.

It is not commonly recognized that the Philippines are fortified against the loss of their foreign trade by their economic system. The population is between eighty and ninety per cent rural. A comparatively small proportion of this agrarian population farms for

the world market. Sugar is produced on large *haciendas* owned by rich men and tilled by a small but growing class of tenant farmers, and cocoanuts, the source of the second most valuable export product, are often a sideline, requiring little attention. The great mass of Filipino people are small farmers, owning their land and raising in their tiny fields by manual labor all their necessities, supplementing the products of the soil with simple handicraft industry. Such an economy makes them independent of the fluctuation of world economic cycles in a way that would be the envy of the American farmer if he could see it. They feel the planetary depression far less than even the farmers of Japan or the Dutch East Indies. Complete collapse of world markets would simply mean that they would stop the importation of foreign goods, particularly cloth and machinery, by a complete return to the simple village life which is the strength of this tropical nation.

Secretary Hurley's half-hearted advocacy of restriction of Filipino immigration to the United States scarcely needs refutation. The constitutionality of restricting the freedom of movement of a great body of thirteen millions of people while we keep them against their will under our flag is very doubtful, and its ethics is certainly open to question. The number of Filipinos in continental United States was about 45,000 in 1930, and is probably smaller now. The Filipinos do not object to being treated as we choose to treat Oriental foreigners if we loose their bonds, but to be subjected to the indignities of exclusion acts and yet deprived of their freedom is going too far.

"THE political chaos in the Orient today is such that, in my opinion, this is no time to deal with Philippine independence." After this manner did Secretary Hurley begin his eighty-nine paragraphs dealing with Philippine freedom. There are certain reasons for believing that his opinion is wrong on this point.

In the first place, if independence were granted now, no nation, least of all Japan, is likely to be in a position to disturb the islands until they have had ample time to become settled in their new status. This would not be probable in any case, for 1932 is not 1898, and most nations have long ago learned that colonies are far more likely to be liabilities than assets. Should aggression occur, the Philippines, as an independent state, would be no more defenseless than any of the numerous other nations of its size.

Secondly, Oriental chaos is making doubly clear the fact that the period of American tutelage in the Philippines should be speedily concluded. As the keystone of our program of training the islands for self-government, the Filipinos were given a steadily increasing share in the government until the Harding Administration. When General Wood then took away prerogatives his predecessor had sanctioned, such an impossible situation was created that when Stimson followed Wood, he was glad to restore a large share of self-government. Davis has just completed a successful administration by carefully stepping in Stimson's footprints, and Roosevelt now announces a continuance of this policy. Philippine nationalism will not permit us to stand still. Renunciation means trouble: at best a situation like the Wood dictatorship, at worst, another India.

Finally, we should move at this time to terminate our sovereignty over the Philippines in order to hasten the only solution eventually possible for political chaos in the Orient. The Wilsonian principle of self-determination has set the Oriental half of mankind aflame. India is in revolt, China is aroused as never before, French Indo-China and Dutch East Indies are astir, Korea is rigid with suppressed hatred—and the independence movement in the Philippines antedated all of these. Sooner or later these millions will have their way. In the meantime, what is to be the rôle of the United States? When the continent of South America was casting off the yoke of Europe, we were the defenders of liberty-seeking nations. The Monroe Doctrine staked our national existence on our championship of the rights of weak peoples in the days when self-determination had fewer friends than now. Shall we who have defended liberty in our weakness stand with the oppressors when we are strong? Let us frankly admit that granting independence to the Philippines would embarass England in India, Holland in the East Indies, France in Indo-China, and Japan in Korea and Manchuria. Let us grant it for that purpose, if for no other. Let us swing wide the Open Door until not only the Philippines but other struggling races of the Far East pass through it into statehood.

Good Friday

NO sad heart called it Good that day—or dreamed
Of song. Against the nails He hung quite still,
And through those faith-engulfing hours it seemed
The universe had died upon a hill.
Those flamelike dreams, where He had lighted fire—
Swift fire of hope in startled souls—were spent
And blazeless now, cold ashes in a mire
Of doubt and shame and love's bewilderment.

Then—up that hill of darkness, storm and loss
The Dawn came blowing, sweet with lily-bloom,
And out of anguish man's new song was born.
He who has spent Good Friday by a cross
And watched Death roll his stone against a tomb,
Sings no mere lip-hosannas Easter morn.

HELEN MOLYNEAUX SALISBURY

The War in the Far East

SHERWOOD EDDY

MANCHURIA is the danger zone of the Far East, as Alsace Lorraine has been in the West. Here the three great nations of the East—China, Japan and Soviet Russia—meet and cross destinies. As Professor Gilbert Murray well says, the situation "is one of those complicated tangles of *mutual exasperation.*" In the case of China and Japan, each sees only its own side of the controversy, each looks back upon a long list of genuine grievances, and each sees the other steadily encroaching upon its rights, even to the point of threatening its own national existence.

China, at the moment helpless, sees Japan, the stronger nation, the aggressor, who conquered her in the war of 1894-95 and threatened her sovereignty in the notorious Twenty-One Demands of 1915, now seizing Manchuria, destroying much of Shanghai, and menacing Nanking and the cities of the East coast, threatening this ancient Middle Kingdom with defeat and downfall after four thousands years of honored history.

Japan, on the other hand, as she sees it, has a strong case which we cannot fully understand unless we view the whole situation in perspective against a wide background. Japan, long isolated, and opened up by Perry's fleet in 1853-54, arrived late upon the international scene, to find about seven-eighths of the globe seemingly preempted by the successful imperialism of the Anglo-Saxon and Continental nations. She found them entrenched in India, Egypt, the Philippines, and over most of Asia and Africa, with herself the only independent power on either of these continents, and the United States "driven" to repeated and successful intervention in Mexico and other Latin American republics.

After her first victorious war with China in 1895, Japan was forced by the three imperialistic nations, Russia, Germany and France, to return that part of South Manchuria which she had taken from China, only to see it quickly seized by Russia, under a long lease. This she never forgot nor forgave.

After seventy years of unprecedented advance in western civilization, Japan found herself excluded from the United States by the immigration act of 1924, which seemed to her gratuitously insulting and humiliating. A quota basis which would have admitted only 154 Japanese annually would have satisfied her *amour propre.* Next came the prohibitive American tariffs, the loss of much of her silk and other trade, the world depression, the effect of the Chinese boycotts, the painful and constant reminder of her low standard of living as compared with that of the West, and her serious lack of resources in land, coal, iron and oil, coupled with a rapidly increasing population without outlet in her overcrowded islands.

Claiming that she expected the usual imperialistic division of spoils at the close of the World War, she had anticipated the European powers by her Twenty-One Demands upon helpless China and by the treaties of 1915 based upon them. She was uneasy that these were never ratified by the Chinese Parliament and were universally repudiated by the educated portion of the Chinese people. She felt that her hard-won rights in Manchuria constituted at once her Monroe Doctrine, her Panama Canal, her Gettysburg and the ground of her very existence as a world power. When a weak but politically awakened China began what seemed to her a relentless insistence on her legal rights, abrogating every "unjust and unequal treaty," to regain the sovereignty of China and every foot of Manchuria lost or leased under treaties wrung from her corrupt officials under duress, Japan believed that her very economic existence was threatened.

For a time she had come to terms with the ex-bandit Chang-Tso-lin before he was blown to pieces at a railway crossing outside Mukden, but the Young Marshal, his son, had shown great ingenuity and persistence in outwitting the Japanese, breaking treaties, just or unjust, surrounding the Japanese railways with a network of Chinese lines, and by agitation and boycott steadily driving back the Japanese. At the same time, the extravagant and corrupt misrule of this winsome young prodigal was bleeding the country white. There was added insult to injury when with literally scores of pin-pricks and treaty evasions, propaganda in the press, on the platform and in schools, the Japanese were abused, stupidly told they could not fight, and had indignities heaped upon them as "the robbers of China."

SOME months before the capture of Mukden the military clique in Japan had made up its mind that the day of reckoning should not be much longer postponed, but that once and for all China must be taught a lesson, Japan's honor must be vindicated, and the long violated treaties admitted, accepted and fulfilled. Partly from pride and partly from fear, Japan was unwilling to submit these doubtful, yet, to her, all-essential, treaties to any arbitration or justiciable solution, and accordingly staked everything upon military intervention that quickly assumed the proportions of war. She had a strong case if she had been willing to submit it to judicial procedure or to the Council of the League, which she was bound to do as an original member and signatory of the Co-

venant. Here she made her tragic and costly mistake which in the end bids fair to threaten China with downfall and dismemberment, Japan herself with revolution, and the whole world with war. Her present persistent military action breaks three solemn treaties which she has signed—the Covenant of the League, the Washington Nine-Power Treaty and the Pact of Paris.

The writer was present at the capture of Mukden and at the beginning of the trouble that led to the bombing of Shanghai. He found no evidence of any alleged Chinese attack upon the railway near Mukden, but instead four and a half months of cumulative evidence of a consistent and unceasing Japanese military offensive, from the Russian zone of Harbin and Tsitsihar to Shanghai and Nanking. He found the Japanese military setting up puppet "independence" governments against the will of nine-tenths of the intelligent population of Manchuria. He found an aggressive military advance into China that threatened the overthrow of the Central Government at Nanking and the crumbling Republic of China with chaos and communism.

In Japan itself he found a war psychology similar to that in Europe and America during the World War. There was strict censorship of press and platform, and no single man in all Japan dared boldly and decisively to speak out against Japan's military course. To do so would have meant instant assassination or imprisonment. The Chief of the General Staff is a prince of the blood and the army is under the leadership of a strong fascist group. The irresponsible military party, not under the control of the Government, is prepared to see to the bitter end this desperate adventure. There are Christians or pacifists in Japan who desire peace and who feel uneasy about Japan's dangerous course, and there are radical labor and student elements that condemn it in secret and who in time of economic desperation may rise in revolt against it. But few nations have ever faced a modern war with greater solidarity. One Christian school had just presented a white silk flag to the soldiers which was stained with the blood of each of its six hundred boys. They know only the facts or interpretations that a rigid army censorship allows them to hear and they imagine they are fighting a purely defensive war. They are told that Japan has been patient and forbearing and that she is "the redeemer of China."

WHILE in Japan, I warned my Japanese friends that the continuance of their aggressive policy in Manchuria and China would inevitably prove a menace to China, to Japan itself, and to the world in the following ways: For China this policy of war and military occupation, if continued, may mean the fall of the Central Government at Nanking, and beyond that, chaos, communism and perhaps the break-up of China.

For Japan, I testified to my friends that their present course carried to its logical conclusion would probably eventually mean three things—economic bankruptcy, a war with Russia, which the present military adventure of Japan is now making practically inevitable, and, following such a war, an internal revolution in Japan itself. In such a war Japan must face the possible united opposition not only of the present 165,000,000 people of Russia, but also the 400,000,000 of China, and the 20,000,000 of Korea, whose soldiers would be armed and trained by Russia and backed by the vast resources of the U. S. S. R.

A Japanese general whom I met did not seem to be in the least sobered by this prospect, but told me that they would "divide and conquer," taking their enemies one by one, and annexing Eastern Siberia "up to Lake Baikal." I pointed out that while Japan is increasing her population less than 1,000,000 a year, that of Soviet Russia is increasing nearly 4,000,000 annually. Six years hence Japan would be facing 185,000,000 in Russia, backed by their enormous resources, or a total of 600,000,000 in the three countries, as opposed to her 65,000,000, outnumbered nearly ten to one in population and handicapped by the overwhelming economic advantage that the rich resources of Russia would be certain to provide at the close of her second Five Year Plan.

It must be remembered that Japan has never known defeat in any foreign war, and that she was apparently drunk with power in the first flush of her military adventure in China. She imagines that, having defeated the old, demoralized Czarist Russia in 1905, she will be facing the same foe again. But there is a new Russia that she has never confronted. Even Czarist Russia mobilized 15,000,000 men in the last World War. But present day Russia can easily mobilize twice that number and these soldiers can fight.

The modern world has never confronted just such a crisis as the present one. Manchuria may prove to be not only the cockpit of the Far East, but the danger zone of the nations. We may be led on to the menace of another world war.

The threat to modern civilization is so serious and urgent that governments must adopt drastic measures to stop the war. As for myself, I do not believe that the United States should under any circumstances allow herself to be drawn into armed hostilities against Japan. I am strongly convinced that the Government of the United States should cooperate fully with the League of Nations in bringing effective pressure to bear upon Japan. If necessary to secure the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the Shanghai area *and from Manchuria,* except in the railway zone, I would favor the use of moral, diplomatic, and economic sanctions. The risks of coercion are great, but the dangers of yielding to Japanese military aggression are far more ominous.

Poems on the Far Eastern Crisis*

TOYOHIKO KAGAWA

Child of an Aching Heart

AGAIN I have become the child of an aching heart,
Carrying the burden of Japan's crime,
Begging pardon of China and of the world,
With a shattered soul;
I have become a child of sadness.

Why?

WHY?
My tears fall—
While the people are wanting food, and starving,
Heartless militarists make war upon them!
Wandering in the hills are men and women
Hunting firewood and praying for peace.
Do the militarists know these gentle hearts?

To the Republic of China

WHEN your country is overwhelmed with a great flood
And troubled by internal dissension,
We do not help you but rather further the Manchurian aggression!
Japan is militarist, surely!
If we do not reflect and repent,
We shall receive God's punishment.

While your country struggles in revolution,
Are we Japanese helping you?
Or rather disturbing you!
Deeply we are ashamed.

Whatever the militarists say,
Their will is not our will,
Their action not ours.
We pacifists are weak yet,
But we are fighting against militarism and imperialism,
And some day, casting them off,
We shall be able heartily to grasp your hands.

Let us unite, and from the whole world
Drive out all social evils—the sweating and the parasites—
And achieve a peaceful world—the Kingdom of God.

Militarists do whatever they please,
And men of supposed intelligence flatter them,
But the land of egoism which results is not the true Japan.

I dream of the day of the Union of Asia—
Flags of China, Russia, India and Japan floating high,
And all Asiatic nations becoming sources of blessing,
Supplying each others' needs,
Helping and loving one another.
Let us bring in the rejoicing of Asia!
Is it not our mission?

We hold out warm hands to your country;
Heartily do we long for the completion of the Revolution,
And for the Union of Asia.
We pacifists, feeling our powerlessness and neglect of duty,
And shamed by our country's action,
Yet assure you of the sincerity of our hearts.

Make Not Japan a Second Germany!

POWERFUL army and navy, unbeaten,
Genius of war—Japan the militarist!
But Asia and the world are not for her.
Brutal is the force which stands not upon social justice;
Resentment of four hundred million in the Chinese Republic,
Determination of Soviet Russia,
What will you do with the whole world's hate?
Shall you not awake until you have been beaten down and crushed like Germany?
Let us not make our beloved Japan another Germany—
Germany, tottering on the edge of a precipice,
And torn between Fascism and the Communist Revolution.

China, Russia, America and Japan are neighbors;
Let them cast away their arms and help one another,
Harmonious and loving.
What need then for devices of fear?
Reflect and ponder well within your soul.
Will not Japan awaken till it is beaten and crushed?
Are you looking to armed force for solutions?
Arms will but increase the trouble.
By love and reason comes the solution.
Militarist Japan, reflect and repent,
Fear God and His punishment.

* These verses by Japan's most distinguished Christian leader were all published in that country since the seizure of Mukden, and are being reprinted because they reveal the attitude of a Japanese pacifist during a dangerous crisis. The translations were made by Motoichiro Takahashi.

Recognition As An Instrument of Policy

AMRY VANDENBOSCH

PROBABLY no phase of American foreign policy has been the subject of such wide discussion as our stand on recognition. The recognition policy of the United States was recently brought into the limelight again by virtue of a significant declaration by the government of Mexico on September 27, 1930, which is rapidly becoming known as the Estrado doctrine, after the Secretary of Foreign Relations who announced it. The declaration gives some indication of the resentment which our recognition policy has provoked south of the Rio Grande. "It is a well known fact," states the Mexican pronouncement, "that some years ago Mexico suffered as few nations have from the consequences of that doctrine which allows foreign governments to pass upon the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the regime existing in another country, with the result that situations arise in which the legal qualifications or national status of governments or authorities are apparently made subject to the opinion of foreigners." The Mexican government accordingly announced the policy that it is "issuing no declarations in the sense of grants of recognition, since . . . such a course is an insulting practice"; that in maintaining or withdrawing its accredited diplomatic agents "it does not pronounce judgment, either precipitately or *a posteriori,* regarding the right of foreign nations to accept, maintain or replace their governments or authorities."

About a year ago Secretary Stimson announced the return of the United States government to the Jeffersonian principle of *de facto* recognition. However, a second examination of the statement must raise grave doubts as to the intention of following a thorough-going *de facto* recognition policy in the future. For included among the particular considerations upon which our government will grant recognition is the willingness of the new government to discharge its international obligations. So long as this consideration remains a factor in according or withholding recognition, the *de facto* policy rests upon a very precarious foundation. For the moment the consideration of willingness to discharge international obligations is given any weight in the question of recognition, activism is substituted for *de factoism.* When recognition is withheld on this ground it is no longer based on the existence of certain objective facts but becomes an instrument of national policy. It is then used for the purpose of compelling the new government to perform some specific act, or to induce the people of that state to overthrow their government and to set up one that will submit to the wishes of the country withholding recognition.

We shall never have true *de facto* recognition until all policy factors are rigidly excluded. It will always be easy in practice to blur over the distinction between the existence of an international obligation and the willingness of a government to meet its international obligations. This is clearly illustrated in the case of the Russian government. The Soviet regime has not declared an unwillingness to fulfill its international obligations *in toto.* If that were the position of the Russian government, then the United States should have protested the participation of Russia in the Kellogg Peace Pact. The Russian government has merely declared its unwillingness to meet some of its alleged international obligations, chief among which are the debts of the former government and reparation for the confiscation of American property in Russia. The Soviet government contends that the present Russian state is a new state, "that revolutions which are a violent rupture with the past carry with them a new juridical status in the external and international relations of states." If this position is correct, the present Russian government is not responsible for the debts of the previous regimes. Now the Soviets may be absolutely wrong in their contention, but the point raised is nevertheless a question of international law—and an eminently justiciable question. Certainly it is a question about which there might well be diplomatic discussion. However unsound the Russian argument may be, is it any more unreasonable than the unwillingness of the United States government to accept responsibility for the repudiated state debts, offering the federal system as its defense?

JUST how different is the use of propaganda from the use of recognition as an instrument of national policy? Withholding recognition is not merely for the purpose of making a government change its position; in the last analysis its object is to induce the people to overthrow the existing government and supplant it with another whose position will be acceptable to the nation that is withholding recognition. In fact the refusal to recognize may be the most effective kind of propaganda, having for its purpose the overthrowal of the existing government in another state. If this is not intervention in the domestic affairs of another state, what is?

But the problem goes deeper than that. At the present stage of world integration, governments must have diplomatic relations with each other. That is the irreducible minimum of world society; anything less than that is chaos. Even the Kellogg Pact, with its

vague and uncertain commitments, requires at least that much for its operation, as the Sino-Russian incident and the Manchurian crisis clearly revealed. Whatever sanctions may be thought necessary against a recalcitrant government, non-recognition ought never to be among them. The reasons for this view were succinctly stated by the Soviet government in a note of August 31, 1928, to the French government discussing the Kellogg Pact. "There should also be put among the non-pacific means that are forbidden by the covenant such means as a refusal to resume normal pacific relations between nations or breaking such relations, for acts of that character, by setting aside the pacific means which might decide differences, aggravate relations and contribute in creating an atmosphere that is conducive to the unleashing of wars." What the world needs is an absolutely *de facto* recognition policy, but such a policy cannot be safely based on the recent declaration of Secretary Stimson.

It is in the direction of the Estrado doctrine that international practice and law must go. Practical difficulties will undoubtedly arise in the pursuance of this doctrine, but an activist doctrine involves even greater difficulties, such as conducting elections, interpreting delicate questions of the constitutional law of another state, and even continued policing to keep the "constitutional" government in power after the election. The Mexican government has performed a distinct service to international society by the declaration of the Estrado policy.

Within Fascist Prisons

FRANCESCO FAUSTO NITTI

THE campaign which several organizations are conducting in behalf of Italy's political prisoners is beginning to produce a profound impression throughout the world. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an important and well-known institution in several countries, recently voted a ringing protest against the horrible treatment inflicted upon prisoners deported to the Italian penal islands. Yet despite the growing protest against this policy of the Fascist authorities, the author has come to the definite conclusion that the conditions of his former fellow-prisoners has become infinitely worse during these last two years.

There are actually four islands designated for political deportees: Lampedusa, Lipari, Ponza and Tremiti. Lampedusa is a reef of a few square kilometres, south of Sicily, near Africa. The island of Tremiti, in the Adriatic, was for a long time a penal colony for ordinary criminals. It is simply a rocky platform jutting out of the sea, on which is situated a small building and a courtyard surrounded by walls. In this narrow, cramping prison a few hundred deported political prisoners are forced to live like animals. The sea sweeps all around against the walls, and within, numerous and fierce guards dictate the lives of their charges. Ponza and Lipari, from which the author escaped in July, 1929, together with his friends, Professor Rosselli and Dr. Lussu, are two islands in the Tirrono Sea, the former opposite the gulf of Naples, the other northwest of Messina. They are bigger than the other two islands, but the life of the deportees is much the same. On the island of Ponza are to be found two very well-known exiles, advocate Signor Torrigiani, the Great Master of the Italian Free Masonry and General Bencivenga, former liberal deputy.

In the year 1930, under the pretense that it was necessary to economize, the daily allowance of ten lire which was allowed the deportees was reduced by half. Since 1930 these exiles have been living on five lire a day, a ridiculous sum and absolutely insufficient for even the most elementary necessities. Prices on the islands are three or four times higher than they are in Italy itself, probably due to speculation on the part of the islanders in addition to high transport expenses. The consequence is that the deportees are constantly faced with, and frequently overcome by hunger. Many of the prisoners have had their families brought to the islands, rather than leave them abandoned in Italy, and they must divide with their respective wives and with, very often, numerous children, the miserable pittance granted by the government at Rome.

RECENT witnesses, who have no fear of contradiction, give a description of the life of the deported prisoners on the island of Lipari. The discipline, they declare, is of the severest kind, since it depends upon the dictatorial will of the guards and their chiefs, who in most instances adopt the attitude of master to slave. At eight o'clock in the morning the prisoners are gathered in the courtyard of the castle, which serves as the office of the Commander of the Fascist garrison. Two or three officers of the militia are seated at a table and call the deportees one by one. Each one must answer present, step forward, hat in hand, before the table and salute the officials. On either side of the table is a detachment of Fascist militia. If the prisoner doesn't answer with sufficient quickness or if he

forgets to salute, he is at once made to return to his place and is recalled. If he dares to make the slightest gesture of protest, the militia at once arrest him and with a grand show of violence march him off to the nearest prison. The soldiers are always in search of the slightest pretext for beating and imprisoning the exiles.

After this ceremony of morning roll-call, the deportees are freed until the afternoon. Their liberty consists of being able to stroll through the two or three small streets in the centre of the village. They may not leave the zone assigned for their walks, under the penalty of immediate arrest. Therefore, a few hundred men are obliged to walk about like beasts in a cage within a few square metres, under the watchful eye of numerous and suspicious guards.

There is a second call in the afternoon at the hour in which mail is distributed. All correspondence, arriving and departing, is opened and censored. The call for retirement is announced by blasts of trumpets. At seven at night in the winter and at eight in the summer, the deportees are enclosed within their habitations. After the second trumpet signal the militia patrol goes through the village and proceeds, house by house, to an inspection call. During the night the calls continue from hour to hour. The guard squadrons bang the doors of every inhabitant, calling the name of the resident. The latter must get up from his bed, dress himself and report immediately. The slightest delay is strictly prohibited. Dr. Beltramini, a well-known advocate of Lombardy and former member of Parliament, was arrested and kept in prison for 45 days for having been a few minutes late in answering to one of these nightly calls. The use of hourly calls was brought into force immediately after our escape. The commander swore that no deportee would again manage to escape from Lipari and accordingly takes this precaution. When a group of deportees protested against this abuse of calls, especially on the grounds that their wives and children were so many times rudely awakened during the night, the following answer was forthcoming from the commander of the garrison:

"If you and your families can't sleep during the night, then try to sleep during the day."

The Fascist garrison is composed of about six hundred militia (black shirts), under the command of a colonel. The greater part of these guards are former *squadristi,* that is, members of the celebrated *squadre d'azione* (active squads), which had committed an infinite number of violent crimes before the advent of the Fascist regime. The island is further guarded by several torpedo boats, armed with cannons, and by numerous heavy motor boats. One of the most rigidly enforced regulations of the colony is that no deportee is permitted to approach the sea.

EVERY day acts of violence are committed. The deportees Campanile, Tulli, Vanni, Sarti, Paolinelli, Milo, and Donegani are amongst those who have endured brutal thrashings and acts of violence by the guards. All these deportees, whom the author knows and remembers, were savagely captured and imprisoned on flimsy pretexts devised by their ferocious guardians. If these victims could be questioned with guaranteed safety to themselves, they would tell atrocious tales. But entrance to these islands is prohibited to those who are not in possession of a special pass furnished by the government in Rome. Many foreign journalists have attempted to land on the islands but have not succeeded. And those—they are very few I can assure you—who have been able to disembark have not been able to approach any one of the deportees except in the presence of the commander and his belligerent officials.

In January, 1930, a little after our escape, the hatred and desire for vengeance on the part of the Fascist guards was vented upon an innocent victim, the deportee Filippich, a former subject of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Filippich, who during the War, animated by pro-Italian sentiments, had rendered several services to our army, was unfortunate enough to bring down on his head the wrath of the Fascist officials. He was hit in the stomach and sides by a volley of heavy blows with the butt-ends of several muskets and died a few days later in an agony of suffering. All the deportees tried to protest but were prohibited even from following the coffin of their companion to the cemetery. The resident civilian population of the island was so horribly impressed by this crime committed under their eyes that they sent a protest to Rome. The answer came in the form of a punitive expedition against the inhabitants of the island by the military garrison. Many of the island's peaceful inhabitants, among them several women, were wounded. The expedition, commanded by Console Nicchiarelli, Commander of the garrison, took place on the night of January 8th, 1930. The islanders remember this date with terror.

The lack of sanitary conditions among the deportees is grave; drinkable water is entirely lacking and the prisoners must depend on rain-water drawn from the wells. During the suffocating months of summer, this supply is very scant, and the floors of the wells are overrun with worms.

Day after day the situation of these prisoners becomes worse. Lipari, Ponza, Tremiti and Lampedusa, which an important American paper referred to as "the devil's islands," are graves in which hundreds of living men are being buried. And it is necessary for the world to know this, so that, with a full knowledge of the matter, it may judge the works and the regime of Signor Mussolini.

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

In France Also

The number of unemployed in France has now risen to 1,500,000, reports the Secretary of the French Textile Union.

Boycott Advocated

Five hundred students and faculty members at Milwaukee State Teachers College have signed a pledge to boycott Japanese goods until restitution is made in China.

World's Biggest Banks

In spite of the economic depression-abyss, recent figures show that the Chase National Bank of New York City leads the world with a total of 1450 million dollars in deposits, followed by the National City Bank of New York City with 1410 millions, British Midland Bank with 1200 millions, and Barclay's (British) with 1120 millions.

F. O. R. Groups Exchange Messages

Members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in China and Japan have exchanged cablegrams and letters mutually expressing goodwill and urging the pacific settlement of all controversies between the two nations. The chairman of the Tokyo F. O. R. and Woman's Peace League visited China in the interests of pacific cooperation.

Students from Foreign Lands

There are 10,394 students from other lands now studying in the colleges and universities of the United States, reports the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students. Countries with the largest representations are: Canada 1523, China 1242, Japan 1187, Philippine Islands 803, Germany 447, England 397, Mexico 298, Porto Rico 264, Cuba 212, India 195.

Fascist Tyranny

Eleven professors in Italian universities have resigned rather than take the following compulsory oath: "I swear to be faithful to the King and his royal successors and to the Fascist régime; to observe loyally the statute and the other laws of the state; to exercise the teaching function and to fulfil all academic duties with the purpose of forming citizens active, bold and devoted to the fatherland and to the Fascist régime. I swear that I do not belong and will never belong to any association or party the activities of which are not in harmony with the duties of my office."

If Divided Equally

Every family in the United States would have $10,961 of capital and an annual income of $2,366, if the national wealth and income for 1930 could be divided equally between all the families of the country, according to an estimate made by the National Industrial Conference Board. The total national wealth of the United States in 1930 amounted to 329.7 billions of dollars and the national income for the same year was 71 billions of dollars. The per capita wealth in 1930 was $2,677 as compared with $2,977 in 1929, and the per capita income was $579 in 1930 as compared with $701 in 1929.

A. F. of L. Supports Bond Issue

The La Follette bill, which calls for a five billion dollar bond issue to provide funds with which to inaugurate a vast public building program as an unemployment relief measure, has been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Consolidated Control

Mr. Henry L. Doherty is a director in 123 corporations, according to the new *Directory of Directors*. Mr. Patrick E. Crowley is second with 84 directorships, and Richard F. Hoyt third with 81.

Stickers on Income Tax Returns

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Washington is circulating stickers to be appended to Federal income tax returns: "That part of this income which is levied for preparation for War is paid only under Protest."

Samoa Moves Toward Self-Government

The United States Senate has passed a bill which grants American citizenship to the people of American Samoa and provides for a substantial increase in self-government. This bill has not yet been acted upon by the House of Representatives.

Relief Activities in West Virginia

The American Friends Service Committee reports that in the West Virginia and Kentucky coal regions it has distributed: a carload of dried prunes, a carload of evaporated milk, a carload of grapefruit, 100 gallons of cod liver oil, 1200 boxes of cereals. Some 24,000 children have been fed, under the direction of twenty-four field workers.

What a Socialist Government Can Do

The huge labor conflict which for weeks has been gathering in Denmark, has been settled by the activities of Premier Stanning, the political head of the Labor Party. The threatened general wage cut of twenty per cent has been defeated, the present contracts being extended a year. Fresh negotiations for later agreements are to be initiated, with the Government as mediator.

In the Right Direction

Unemployment insurance will be introduced in Wisconsin, July 1, 1933, the State Legislature has voted. This is the first government-supervised unemployment insurance provided in the United States. Maximum benefits are only $100 a year, payable in not more than 10 weekly installments. It does not apply to industries engaged in interstate transportation, logging, farming, private domestic service, teaching, or those which guarantee employees a salary for 11 months of the year. Acknowledged part-time workers are not eligible for benefits. Funds are established and maintained by employers but administered by the State. The measure becomes compulsory only in case enough employers have not already adopted similar systems by July 1, 1933, to provide benefits for 175,000 of the workers potentially eligible for benefits.

Preparedness for Peace

LEE VROOMAN

AMONG peoples who in recent months have taken steps to liquidate old misunderstandings and hatreds, are the Greeks and the Turks. It is of special interest to see what methods have been followed to put an end to their racial prejudices which go back for hundreds of years. Fighting between the Greeks and the Turks antedates the Crusades, and from the Balkan War in 1912 up until 1923 was almost continuous. This strife left a legacy of hatred as bitter as that of any two countries in the world.

Wise statesmen on both sides have now taken very definite steps to clear up old misunderstandings. They have come to the practical conclusion that the two countries will always be neighbors, that their economic offerings to the world are somewhat similiar, and that it is much more advantageous to be friends than enemies.

A series of political conferences has rooted out many of the sources of animosity, legacies of the War, such as the problem of abandoned refugee property and the question of what Greeks could and what Greeks could not live in Istanbul. Although Italy and France have not been able to make a naval agreement, Greece and Turkey have agreed on the limitation of their navies, based on the *status quo*. Toward the solution of the problems concerning a larger area than that of both these countries, a number of influential men called together, a few years ago, the first Balkan Conference. Although this conference, held in Athens, was unofficial, it included delegates who were leading citizens of the countries involved. These delegates enjoyed the advantage of not having been appointed as government representatives, and were enabled to go further in moving toward good will than legitimate plenipotentiaries. At the same time they were influential enough so that their commitments carried weight with their own people. The conference was wise in organizing permanent committees after the main meeting was adjourned.

Following the first Balkan Conference, the Government of Turkey invited the Premier of Greece, Mr. Venizelos, to come to Ankara on a mission of good will, marking the confirmation of treaty agreements. This gesture received much publicity in the press of both countries, and as an outgrowth of the visit, it was decided in effect to abandon holidays celebrating the victory of one country over the other—such as the commemoration of the capture of Smyrna by the Turks. The holiday was not formally abolished, but it was generally ignored. The bad effect of former celebrations of this sort was illustrated a few years ago when a crowd of Turkish enthusiasts dressed up a special train with banners celebrating the taking of Adrianople from the Greeks and started out from Istanbul. The railroad goes for a few miles through Greek territory and when they came to the border, the Greeks refused to let them pass until the irritating banners were removed. This the celebrants refused to do and finally they returned home infuriated.

Active steps have been taken to encourage athletic contests between the two countries; Greek football teams have gone to Turkey and Turkish teams have returned the visits. These groups have been received with good spirit on both sides. Both nations have participated in a larger All-Balkan Athletic League. Groups of students and faculty members from each country have exchanged visits to some of the historical cities of their neighbor and have been welcomed with expressive cordiality.

THE next step occurred last fall when Ismet Pasha, Prime Minister of Turkey, went to Athens to return the call of Mr. Venizelos. He received just as enthusiastic a reception as Mr. Venizelos had previously received in Ankara. Ismet Pasha delivered an address on the part the press should play in developing good will. In an area where the press is under considerable government pressure, such a hint from the Prime Minister is sure to bear fruit.

As a result of this latter visit it was decided to allow the Greek population of Asia Minor which had been exchanged some years ago to return to their native cities on passports for fixed periods, if they so desired. More significant, it was agreed that a number of students from Turkey would be sent to study in the Greek National University and students from Greece would come and study in the Turkish National University. This will tend to develop a leadership in each country which knows and sympathizes with the best of the intellectual life of the other. Finally, during the early part of November, 1931, the second Balkan Conference met in Istanbul, and took up the questions that still irritated Balkan relationships, such as the minorities question. Its main work, however, was in the field of economic coöperation, which would form a strong link in binding these areas together.

In connection with this second Balkan Conference, the Turkish government is educating the public by a series of commemorative stamps. These stamps, of varying denominations, have a map of the Balkans and

Turkey from which springs a tree, representing the Balkan Union. The roots of the tree go to the various capitals—Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia, Tirana, Athens, and of course Ankara. This striking stamp is another witness to the seriousness with which the Turkish government is trying to spread the ideal of international coöperation and good will.

One very practical suggestion by the Balkan Conference delegates to their respective governments has been that history and geography be taught in such a way as to build up respect for neighboring countries in the minds of school children and not to stress and exaggerate those phases which produce hatred and belligerence. New history and geography books, based on this philosophy, are being worked out and, it is understood, will appear shortly.

At a time when there are so many factors which tend to create misunderstanding and discord, it is most heartening to find two countries like Greece and Turkey following out intelligent and well-considered plans for developing good will, and furthermore, taking the lead as peace makers for the whole Near East, long noted for some of the world's most bitter racial animosities.

Pacifism and the Catholic Church

HERMAN HOFFMANN

THERE are Catholics who believe that Catholicism and the peace movement are so closely related that persons of that faith need not discuss peace very much: obviously to be a Catholic is to be a friend of peace. These individuals must be reminded that in the World War Catholics fought against Catholics, that militarist chauvinism originated in Catholic France, and that Catholic Poland and Catholic Italy are belligerently militaristic.

On the other hand there are non-Catholics who believe that Catholicism and the peace movement are antagonistic, that the Catholic Church is closely bound up with the ideology of war. This is a grave error. If these non-Catholics would study the attitude of recent popes or the moral theology of the church on these questions, they would realize their mistake. The doctrine of war in Catholic theology has recently been dealt with in a classic volume by the Dominican, Francis Stratmann, called *Weltkrieg und Weltkirche,* which has been translated into English.

True, the Catholic Church has never condemned war as such. Some wars have even been considered permissible, and the church itself participated in certain wars, notably in the Crusades. Still, it is also true that not all Catholics approved of the Crusades, as the example of St. Francis shows, and the number of present-day Catholics who condemn the Crusades is constantly growing. The Church has never said that war is always and in every case a sin. Just as the Church did not condemn capital punishment as a protection for society against wrong-doers, just as it permitted (not commanded) killing in self-defense, so it also permitted war under the category of self-defense in the life of nations.

The great moral theologians of the Church, from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas, have endeavored to define the conditions under which war is permissible. And the eminent theologians of the post-scholastic age, such as Suarez and Vittoria, have put the Catholic doctrine of "permissible war" in classic and definitive form. According to them, war is permissible when there is no question that one side is in the right and the other in the wrong, when the means of peaceful settlement have been exhausted, when there is a chance of success, when war is waged with civilized weapons, that is, without the use of poison; when it remains a war between armed troops and not against an unarmed populace, when evils such as murder of non-combatants, robbery and plunder, the violation of women, and other immoralities, have been banished.

This is not a matter of mere historical or antiquarian interest. True, according to these principles, Maria Theresa was justified in waging war, while Frederick the Great was not; the German War of Liberation was just, while Napoleon's conquests were not. But it is also true that according to these principles of Catholic moral theology, the World War cannot be justified, Belgium alone excepted. Nor for that matter can any war of conquest, any war for colonies, any imperialist war, any dynastic war, any war of prevention, any war of revenge, be morally justified.

From this point of view the wars of Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and Bismarck must be condemned. Most important of all, however, at the present time no morally justifiable war is possible. Modern warfare is not conducted with civilized weapons, for poison gas and bombs from airplanes destroy combatants and non-combatants without distinction. Success is impossible, because both sides are sure to be ruined, and right and wrong are never 100 per cent on any side. Thus far every modern war would be denounced as unjust by the classical moral theology of the Catholic Church. If to these be added later state-

ments which denounce war as contrary to the purpose of the gospel and the message of Jesus and to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth, the Catholic case against war is complete. Thus Catholic moral theology, though not specifically denouncing war as such, declares that under present conditions a justifiable war cannot exist. The number of Catholic moral theologians who seek to outlaw war as a matter of conscience and who defend the war resisters and conscientious objectors is constantly growing.

BUT no doubt many Catholics are not reached by the moral theologians nor even by the popes. Consider what Benedict XV did during the War; how he denounced it as a slaughter unworthy of man, of Europe, of Christianity; how he tried repeatedly to bring about peace among the warring nations and to induce them to submit their differences to a league of nations. And Pius XI has continued the work of his predecessor and has continually agitated against war.

At the Cambridge meeting of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, in 1931, the leaders and representatives of the Protestant and Orthodox churches discussed world peace. The Catholic Church is not a member of the World Alliance. One of the delegates asked me why the Pope did not forbid Catholics to participate in the War in 1914, a question which no doubt many readers of this article have already formulated. I should like to reply that perhaps such an order would never have reached the Catholic people. The governments of the warring nations understand too well that only such information is to be published which will serve their purpose. Even in peace times governments exercise power in controlling the press. When I was a young man, Leo XIII vehemently denounced universal military training as a crime against conscience. Now I ask any of my readers who doubt the power, or rather the omnipotence of the press, to find this denunciation by the pope in newspapers or books in their libraries. They will not find it.

Perhaps in 1914 a papal order—had any been issued—would have been published. But under the pressure of various governments, the press would have denounced and ridiculed the Pope to such an extent that he would surely have appeared as an idiot, a fool, an enemy of all nations; and with him also all Catholics who would have dared to obey his order. Every government would have persecuted the Catholics by thrusting them into prison and putting them to death, and many Catholics undoubtedly would have ignored the Pope's pronouncement.

All nations were so thoroughly convinced of the justice of their cause, that the Catholics in the different countries would not have permitted the Pope to interfere with their national duties. In Cambridge I told a high German Catholic dignitary about my reply concerning the Pope's failure to restrain Catholics from taking part in the War. He answered: "Not bad at all. Still I believe that the Pope might well have forbidden the Italians and French to fight." And that in 1931. What would have happened in 1914? That is why the Pope is constantly opposing nationalism, which he sees as the most dangerous cause of modern war. That is also why the Pope so strenuously opposes all movements which make absolutes of the state and nation and place them beyond the dictates of morality. That is why, too, the Pope forbade Catholic participation in the *Action Française* in France, and why the German bishops forbade Catholic membership in the Hitler party of National Socialists.

Of course there is still much to be done before all Catholics share the convictions of their moral theologians in regard to war. Many non-Catholics are urging a more active participation of Catholics in the war against war, the fight for peace. I share this desire. There is a Catholic peace society in the United States, in Germany, and in Austria, and there are also beginnings in Poland and France. Energetic work is necessary in order that these movements continue to grow and be more active, that these societies spread to other countries, and that Catholics everywhere actively engage in the fight against war and violence and divorce themselves from the ideology of war and the over-estimate of states and nations.

(Translated by H. C. Engelbrecht)

Negro Servant

ALL day subdued, polite
Kind, thoughtful to the faces that are white.
O, tribal dance!
O, drums!
O, veldt at night!
Forgotten watch-fires on a hill somewhere!
O, songs that do not care!
At six o'clock, or seven, or eight,
You're through.
You've worked all day.
Dark Harlem waits for you.
The el, the sub.
Pay-nights,
A taxi through the park.
O, drums of life in Harlem after dark!
O, dreams!
O, songs!
O, saxophones at night!
O, sweet relief from faces that are white!

LANGSTON HUGHES

(*From* OPPORTUNITY: Journal of Negro Life. *Reprinted by permission.*)

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Official Lawlessness

Our Lawless Police. By Ernest Jerome Hopkins. Viking Press. $3.00.

Jake Lingle. By John Boettiger. Dutton. $2.50.

INCREASINGLY the police are focusing public attention on themselves. Department scandals have been common in our large cities. Metropolitan newspapers have frequently denounced the police for brutality against radicals. Meanwhile crime increases alarmingly and more and more people regard the constabulary with scarcely veiled hostility. What is the matter with the police?

Hopkins has investigated this question for the Wickersham Committee from Boston to Los Angeles. To begin with, the position of policeman attracts for the most part the less intelligent element, generally men with no more than a grammar school education. Alpha tests given to freshmen of the University of California and to various police departments left the police woefully behind. Then there is the matter of regulations which in most cities demand dreary years of "beat-pounding" before advancement, irrespective of intelligence.

But aside from a general lack of intelligence, the greatest trouble with the police is that they let their clubs do all their work. Detective methods are generally despised, while the third degree, illegal detention, inhuman brutality, and "stool pigeons" are depended on for arrests and confessions. Add to this the increasing corruption and bribery discovered at every investigation and it becomes perfectly clear why the police are one of our foremost problems.

A good illustration of all of Hopkins' criticisms is found in *Jake Lingle.* This is the Chicago *Tribune's* "official" story of a famous murder case. The police were unable to discover anything in this killing, committed in the sight of hundreds, partly because the officer at the strategic point was utterly unfit for duty. But the "World's Greatest Newspaper" was determined on revenge. It put trained operatives on the track who worked for six months with almost unlimited funds until they caught their man. In the course of this search they disregarded the law freely and finally held their prisoner illegally for three weeks before charging him with an offense. And yet they did not convince the jury fully that they had the right man. If it takes that much time, money, and energy to catch the perpetrator of a daylight murder witnessed by hundreds, surely there is something amiss.

It has always been the contention of the old-type "hard-boiled" police chief that strict observance of the law would make impossible the detection of criminals. Hopkins shows that the very opposite is true. In cities where the police are honest and do not violate the law, there is less crime and the agents of the law are honored and respected. Hopkins' book ought to be made "required reading" for all police in the country.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Approaches To Religion

Pathways to the Reality of God. By Rufus Jones. Macmillan Co. $2.00.

Unfashionable Convictions. By Bernard Iddings Bell. Harpers. $2.00.

A Rabbi Takes Stock. By Solomon Goldman. Harpers. $2.50.

RUFUS JONES is becoming perhaps the most representative voice in liberal Protestantism. His very uniqueness as a Quaker mystic enables him to undercut the differences and the controversies which narrow the range of other thinkers. In *Pathways to the Reality of God* he is more theological and philosophical than in most of his other works. He writes with his usual grace and clarity. Frequently he says a thing so well that it could hardly be improved. The book covers briefly the ways of knowing God and the grounds for belief in God, and is most helpful in indicating the many-sidedness of the approach to religious faith. It makes no serious attempt to show how these many pathways are related and it does not distinguish between the areas in which God is found and the facts in the human mind which play a part in the search. As a positive statement of the grounds for faith in God, the book is fine, but there is one serious limitation. The author has such insight into the good, the true, and the beautiful that he does not have an eye for the evil in the world. One would never know that the book was written at a time of great suffering and of serious public danger. One would not suspect that these pathways to God often intersect the roads which lead many earnest men to a denial of God.

Unfashionable Convictions, a collection of articles and sermons, is an exhilarating protest against the fads and preoccupations of contemporary America. The style is often brilliant and clever and is always arresting. Dr. Bell writes with arrogance at times; he stands outside the present world and denounces. There are excellent criticisms of the narrow scientific temper of our intellectuals, the lack of discipline in the new education, and the failure of our colleges to turn out men with any view of life as a whole. The constructive chapters on mysticism and the specific religious element in life are deep and moving and they seldom reveal the Anglo-Catholic assumptions of the author. Fully aware of the evil in the world, Dr. Bell is a disillusioned social reformer who is unsympathetic towards specific attempts to remove social evil. He trusts only the direct religious approach to God and does not allow for the fact that God can be mediated through apparently non-religious experiences, and especially through the experience of loyalty to a good which may not be recognized as God. This becomes clear in his complete lack of appreciation of communism. He is no capitalist but communism is "anti-Christ." It has the materialism and greed of capitalism and adds to them the blasphemy of denying the author's religious symbols. He does not see that the struggle for justice embodied in the redistribution of material goods may be a spiritual struggle, and that out of

it may emerge the experience of a reality which is more divine than the God of the Russian Church.

An important book for Christians who desire to understand the problems and aspirations of Jews is *A Rabbi Takes Stock,* by Rabbi Solomon Goldman. The author is a "conservative" Jew, which means that he does not share the orthodox Jew's acceptance of the burden of the law and that he rejects the denationalizing tendencies of the reformed Jew. Here we find nationalism sublimated in its best possible form—the nationalism of cultural and religious tradition and of the memory of a long racial history with its sufferings and achievements, nationalism without militarism and without rivalry with other nations. The bond which unites Jews is not a common belief in monotheism but a common loyalty to the nation. One of the expressions of this spirit, for which the author gives a warm defense, is the Zionist movement. One wishes he would make clear his attitude toward the future political relations between Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

JOHN BENNETT

Optimism is Cowardice

Man and Technics. By Oswald Spengler. Alfred Knopf. $2.00.

THIS address, now published in book form in an English translation, was delivered by the famed author of *The Decline of the West* on May 7th, 1931. It adds nothing new to the viewpoint which students of his monumental work already know. The viewpoint displayed in it is Nietzschean and pessimistic. Man, the real man, the builder of empires, is a beast of prey. He uses another type of man, the herbivorous man, the worker, the slave, to consolidate his kingdoms. With the development of industrial technique the strong man with the will to live becomes the prey of the weak man, whose collective strength is capable of overcoming him, all the more because the white man foolishly permitted the lesser people of the world to master the technique by which he was able to maintain a brief supremacy over them.

The catastrophe of our civilization is thus assured, according to Mr. Spengler. "Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is cowardice." "Our duty is to hold to the lost position without hope, without rescue. . . . That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred." One is not quite sure just what Mr. Spengler means by these heroic words. One is not quite sure whether he wants our whole civilization to await its dissolution with quiet courage or whether he wants the "beasts of prey," whose business it is to rule their fellowmen, to offer brave but futile resistance to the revolution of the underdogs which is breaking out all over the world.

R. N.

Explaining Its Popularity

Can Europe Keep the Peace? By Frank H. Simonds. Harper & Bros. 360 pp. $3.00.

"THE present volume represents twenty years of first-hand observation of Europe," but this does not mean that the results of the observation should be accepted by others than the observer himself. Most people find what they look for. Observation is not a mechanical process which yields objective results. Even one so experienced as Mr. Simonds carries with him a set of predispositions, of preoccupations, of prejudices, which is bound to color what he sees. Mr. Simonds is first of all a journalist. "The report of the events," as he says in the preface, "the description of the frontiers, the record of national policies and opinions, all stand undocumented." If that is the privilege of the journalist, it is also the reason why he should confine himself to evanescent journalism.

Perforce, Mr. Simonds deals with things in the large. He sets out to "construct a picture of contemporary Europe." His brush is so big, his stroke so large, that he tempts one to forget about details. Clear purposes always motivate the actors on his scene. They are always consistent. They are frequently nefarious. Broad currents flow. There are no eddies. Everything is impelled in a direction determined for it by Mr. Simonds. All nations are divided into camps. They are either Anglo-Saxon, or revisionist, or committed to the *status quo.* The lines are never blurred.

Such an approach, such a state of mind in an observer, cannot fail to produce its consequences. The chief consequence in this case is that everything is a failure. The League of Nations is a failure. Austria is a failure. The World Court stands "gravely impaired." "With the exception of Locarno all purely political conferences have ended in failure. Washington, Genoa, the Coolidge Conference at Geneva, the London Naval Conference have supplied a continuous and monotonous record of high hopes similarly blasted." Mr. Simonds paints on a canvas which was colored with failure before he started. His own touch has merely intensified the color. Nor does his final conclusion that Europe *can* keep the peace change the general effect.

If such a book can find popularity in America, it can only be among people who are not accustomed to reading more careful, more painstaking, and more reliable accounts of affairs in contemporary Europe.

MANLEY O. HUDSON

The Russian Battle Front

The Last Stand: An Interpretation of the Soviet Five Year Plan. By Edmund A. Walsh. $3.00.

The Soviets Conquer Wheat. By Anna Louise Strong. Henry Holt and Co. $2.50.

Red Villages. By Y. A. Yakovlev. International Publishers. $1.50.

HERE are three books about Russia: one by a Communist, one by a friend of the Communists, and one by an ardent foe. It is significant that all three volumes are replete with the terminology of warfare, which means that the authors, whatever their differences, have caught the essential aspect of the Russian scene.

Father Walsh sees the Five Year Plan as embattled Communism's last trench in combat with the world. He sees in it a particular challenge to the "American Plan," which he and Mr. Hoover together are not quite able to make plain in one of the last chapters. But that Father Walsh accepts the challenge and opposes the Bolsheviks with a mighty pen there can be no slightest doubt. He has searched the pages of all the *exposés* of Communist plots from Riga to Washington, and arrayed them with a vitriolic skill that carries the reader through to the last page, irrespective of what his own opinion may be. The author's sweeping grasp of Russian history, his familiarity with Communist tactics and philosophy are convincingly used to demonstrate that the Communist party rules Russia, that there is no freedom in the country, that life is hard, that Communists are opposed to religion, and that the Bolsheviks are striving to make the whole world communist.

But what fascinates me most as I read Father Walsh is to remember that here speaks a Jesuit, bred in a tradition of "poverty, chastity and obedience," dedicated to the propagation

of a faith that in its own long history has not hesitated to use fire, rack, and sword as means of propaganda. One dogma meets another. Propagandist crosses sword with propagandist. Without questioning the sincerity of either, read this essential conflict between the lines and you will be better able to understand and evaluate the first of this trio of books.

Anna Louise Strong in spite of her long residence in Russia still writes with undiminished enthusiasm and a sort of naïve wonder at the sweep of events across the vast stretches of Soviet domain. This book, likewise couched in terms of conflict, describes in epic style the battle against outworn agricultural methods, insect pests, peasant inertia, and Kulak sabotage, for a supply of bread. Here, too, you will find privation, suffering, propaganda, and "the elimination of the Kulak as a class"; but you will also find sacrifice, devotion, the *élan* of victory. It has been said that the plan of collectivization is the most revolutionary program in Russia since the October revolution itself. Once the ramparts of peasant individualism are scaled and the bread base made secure and dependable, the whole scheme of a planned and socialized life can proceed with less conflict and strain.

All of which adds significance to the smallest of these three books, *Red Villages,* which comprises principally the report of the Commissar of Agriculture, delivered before the XVI Party Congress of the U. S. S. R. in 1930. Statistics? Yes, plenty of them. But they are figures that are made to sing as they march; made also to devastate timid opponents in the Congress. Yakovlev knows not only his Soviet statistics but some American ones as well. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the first, which is devoted to an analysis of American large-scale farming and reveals that the income of the American farmer has practically remained static, while taxes, mortgages, and increased prices have constantly reduced him to tenantry, until 40 per cent of our rural population is now working for landlords.

KARL BORDERS

Autocracy in Education

Academic Organization and Control. By J. E. Kirkpatrick. The Antioch Press. 246 pages. $3.00.

ONE reflects with curiosity upon the circumstances which have allowed our educational institutions, from public school to university, to drift so far from the democratic ideal. There seems to be little doubt that education as it was originally planned and projected was presumed to be the bulwark of our democratic state. Indeed, the assumption appears to have been even stronger, namely that we were to build the democratic state through the instrumentality of an educated citizenship. Dr. Kirkpatrick's volume, however, informs us that teachers have a far greater share in the control of their craft in Russia, Germany, Austria, England, and even in France. And, so far as student participation in the control of education is concerned, we are among the most backward of all modern states.

The chief difficulty in educational management in America is, according to Dr. Kirkpatrick, the power wielded by absentee boards of laymen. These laymen, inasmuch as they are for the most part absent and unacquainted with the details of educational problems, shift most of the responsibility upon presidents, or in the case of the public schools, upon superintendents. In each case the administrator becomes a politician, sensitized, not so much to educational need as to the will of his lay or political superiors upon whom his position and tenure depend. Under such circumstances there can be no true academic freedom and the prestige of the teacher must diminish. Both of these consequences Dr. Kirkpatrick has pointed out with force and vigor. The remedy which he suggests seems obvious enough, namely a redirection of control which will place power where it functionally belongs, to wit, in the hands of teachers and learners.

Dr. Kirkpatrick has marshalled his argument with a splendid logic. He begins by tracing the evolution of control and organization in some of the older private institutions of higher learning such as Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, Bowdoin, Dartmouth and the University of Pennsylvania. These analyses are followed by a similar discussion of one publicly-controlled institution, namely the University of Michigan, and finally of the public school system as a whole. Comparisons are then made with European conceptions and practices of control. The third section of the volume is devoted to a condensed but highly provocative treatment of the problem of academic powers and rights as legally conceived and controlled.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

Milestones of Internationalism

The World Court. By Manley O. Hudson. World Peace Foundation. 245 pages. $2.50.

The International Labour Organization. With an introduction by Albert Thomas. Allen & Unwin, London. Distributed in the United States by the World Peace Foundation. 382 pages. $3.50.

Annual Review of the International Labour Office for 1930. World Peace Foundation. 505 pages. Price $3.00.

IN these days of disillusionment, when the League's effectiveness in preserving peace and in settling international political difficulties has been so seriously challenged in the Orient, it is comforting to turn to other and less spectacular but none the less important aspects of the League's work and to review what the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labour Organization have accomplished in the past ten years. The Permanent Court provides one alternative to war as a method for the settlement of international disputes, although as Professor Brierly has pointed out, "it is utterly misleading to speak of law and war as though they were true alternatives. The aim of war is quite different from the aim of law . . . nations resort to war not because they want a dispute settled, but because they want it settled in one way and not in any other—because they are determined that their own will in the matter which they are disputing shall prevail over the will of the other party . . . the price of law is the resolution on the part of all our states, not invariably to expect to get their own way." However, the fact that the Permanent Court has been functioning continuously for over ten years is an indication that, in certain matters at least, nations are prepared to submit their disputes to law, and with every new signature to the optional clause the importance of the court is materially increased.

Professor Hudson's book, as the title indicates, is an admirable handbook, containing detailed information on every aspect of the court, including well written summaries of all judgments and advisory opinions as well as all relevant documents. Of its accuracy there is no question—Professor Hudson's name is adequate guarantee of that—while the importance of United States' adherence, added to the fact that the book is published in that country, justifies the inclusion of some fifty pages dealing with "proposed ratification by the United States." Sometime, however, it is to be hoped that the author will write a companion volume in which

he will deal with the jurisprudence of the court in a critical and analytical way.

The International Labour Organization has grown out of the conviction that "universal peace" can only be based upon social justice to the individual, and if the present crisis in China is an indication of international political anarchy, the unemployment figures are in themselves a proof of the unhappy state of our social and economic order, and of the need for planning and thinking on a world scale. The history of the International Labour Organization during the past ten years is the story of an attempt to do this in one field, and while the story reveals a certain narrowness and superficiality of treatment, compared to the problems that must be solved if civilization is to continue, this narrowness and superficiality is due, as with war, to the determination of certain groups and classes to settle a problem in their own way and in no other, and not to any defect inherent in the principles on which the organization is based. *The International Labour Organization* is a companion volume to *Ten Years of Co-operation,* which appeared a year ago, and, like the latter, is written by certain members of the International Secretariat, who write with an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the organization but with less objectivity than those outside might show. However, it is the best work on the subject that has yet appeared, and fills a real need in the field of international relations.

The Annual Review is a new publication, containing in the main the same materials as were found in the Director's Report to the annual conference of the I. L. O. It surveys the work of the organization, and particularly of the Office, during the year 1930, and on the assumption that it will be more accessible and more widely used than the Director's Report it, too, will prove a welcome addition to the literature on international relations.

NORMAN MACKENZIE

Tolerance or Indifference?

The Shadow of the Pope. By Michael Williams. Whittlesey House (McGraw-Hill). $3.00.

A PLEA for religious liberty and an interesting light upon the religious history of these United States are offered in this even-tempered recital by a distinguished Roman Catholic layman. Mr. Williams, formerly on the staff of leading daily papers in Boston, New York and San Francisco, is now editor of *The Commonweal.*

In his introduction the author surveys rapidly the present legal discriminations and the unofficial hostilities against churches, especially the Roman Catholic, in various parts of the world, and concludes that religious liberty in the accepted American sense of the term, is far from triumphant in the world at large. The rest of the book is concerned with our own country. Mr. Williams devotes several chapters and appendices to the controversy revived by the candidacy of Alfred E. Smith for President. Earlier chapters tell how Catholics were treated in the colonies and in the new republic. More than once mobs bombed, fired, or stormed Catholic churches with resultant slaughter. The author concludes that deplorable though the anti-Catholic outburst was in 1928, its peaceful character as contrasted with the earlier attitudes is a sign that religious liberty in America is unimpaired and "is developing toward the fullest possible expression achievable in an imperfect world."

The book is well-documented, with many illustrations and many reprints of posters and circulars old and fairly recent. It distinguishes between legitimate controversy over religious questions and unfair attacks upon groups or individuals for their religious attachments.

That the relatively peaceful character of the opposition of 1928 is a sign that the disease has grown less serious may be questioned. It may be that hostility is less violent chiefly because many people to-day are more indifferent about all matters of religion whatever. One is the more inclined to believe that much so-called tolerance is mere indifference when one reflects how intolerant Americans show themselves over matters about which they do care keenly. What about liberty to speak upon the burning economic and social problems of this age? A single glance at any one year's list of cases handled by the American Civil Liberties Union tells us where the major conflicts are now to be found.

HENRY NEUMANN

Philosophy and Civilization

Philosophy and Civilization. By John Dewey. Minton, Balch and Co. $5.00.

A NEW book by John Dewey, dean of living American philosophers, is always an event, even if it consists mostly of a collection of essays which have previously been printed in various magazines. Such is the case with *Philosophy and Civilization* which contains only one essay previously unpublished.

The thoughtful element in the American public will indeed be grateful for the labors of the publishers in giving us this new collection of Dewey essays. For they are not easily available elsewhere and they contain some of the finest things Dewey has had to say upon matters which are often of much wider interest than the merely philosophical. The title essay itself, originally written for and delivered at the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy at Harvard University in 1926, constitutes one of the ablest assessments of the place, significance, and function of philosophy in a civilization. This is true entirely irrespective of one's particular philosophical point of view, for in this essay Dewey speaks as a philosopher rather than as an "instrumentalist" or as a proponent of the newer pragmatism.

In "Science and Society," the last essay of the volume and the only one previously unpublished, Mr. Dewey sizes up the most acute problems of our day in an almost uncanny fashion. Though usually a heavy writer, Dewey waxes eloquent in his clear-cut analysis and portrayal of the major task before us today. We can do no better than to let him speak for himself: "The outer arena of life has been transformed by science. The effectively working mind and character of man have hardly been touched. We have displayed enough intelligence in the physical field to create the new and powerful instrument of science and technology. We have not as yet had enough intelligence to use this instrument deliberately and systematically to control its social operations and consequences . . . the issue is between chaos and order, chance and control: the haphazard use and the planned use of scientific techniques . . . the great scientific revolution is still to come. . . . It is our human intelligence and human courage which are on trial; it is incredible that men who have brought the technique of physical discovery, invention, and use to such a pitch of perfection will abdicate in the face of the infinitely more important human problem."

Perhaps these things are platitudes to the thoughtful observer of our age. But they cannot be repeated too often and they have never been more precisely or more rationally stated than in this latest Dewey essay.

PAUL A. SCHILPP

Problem and Responsibility

Porto Rico and Its Problems. By Victor S. Clark and associates. Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. 707 pages. $5.00.

Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge. By Bailey W. and Justine White Diffie. Vanguard Press. 292 pages. $2.00.

Porto Rico, A Caribbean Isle. By Richard James Van Deusen and Elizabeth Kneipple Van Deusen. Henry Holt and Company. 342 pages. $3.50.

PORTO RICO is finally coming into its own. Here are three books that demonstrate this trend. The administration of Governor Theodore Roosevelt is another proof that the island, after thirty years of neglect, is finally beginning to receive the attention it deserves. In 1898 the United States went to war with Spain to free Cuba from Spanish persecution, but she emerged from that war with the Philippines and Porto Rico tucked under her arm.

We did start an educational program with great enthusiasm but it was exotic and quite unsuited to helping Porto Rico face her difficult problems under the American flag. It is not pleasant for our vanity as reformers that Porto Rico, for thirty years under the American flag, now presents what is probably the most difficult economic problem of any country in Latin America. The fundamental difficulty with the island is, of course, that it is overpopulated, with an average of about 450 people to every square mile. Of the total population, 78 per cent is rural. This ignorant, poverty stricken peasant population forms one of the greatest problems. But the urban population also has its seemingly insurmountable difficulties. The country has more and more been given over to large estates owned by foreign interests.

Governor Roosevelt (how sorry we are that he left the island!) was responsible for describing frankly the hopeless situation on the island, thereby attracting greater attention from the North American public. Partly as a result, perhaps, of this increased interest in Porto Rico, we have three important books which will help to clarify the situation for students of her problems.

Porto Rico and Its Problems is a voluminous survey of 707 pages, made at the request of various groups of Porto Rican citizens by the Brookings Institution. It was begun in 1928 and published in 1930. It includes sections on the resources of the island, the workers in town and country, public health, education, government organization, public finance, foreign and domestic commerce, agriculture and manufacture. Never before has such a scientific study of the island been made and it is evident that the various experts that aided Mr. Victor S. Clark, the Director of the survey, have done their work with accuracy. Here are the facts, economic, political and social, assembled for the first time in one volume. And this volume, for years to come, will be the standard book of reference for a study of Porto Rican problems.

Porto Rico, A Broken Pledge, by Dr. Bailey W. Diffie, of the College of the City of New York, and Justine White Diffie, indicates in its title a censure of the United States government of the island. If the Brookings Institution survey seems, as some have said, to favor unduly the North American administration, others will no doubt complain that Dr. and Mrs. Diffie have been too critical. On occupying Porto Rico, General Nelson A. Miles said: "The people of the United States come to promote your prosperity and to bestow on you the immunities and blessing of enlightened civilization." Has this promise been kept? The authors show by unanswerable facts that it has not been kept. Even stranger is the citation from President Coolidge stating that the United States representatives had made no such promise. This book is prepared with all the scientific and statistical data common to specialists. It is not as broad and comprehensive as Mr. Clark's work but is more interpretive of the facts.

In *Porto Rico, A Caribbean Isle,* Mr. and Mrs. Van Deusen have given us a real book. The reader does not need to be told that they have made their home for many years among the Porto Ricans, have learned the language and worked their way into the hearts of the people. This is the first satisfactory general book on Porto Rico that the reviewer recalls having read. It does not treat the island as a curiosity, as a problem, or as a grateful recipient of the blessings of marvelously unselfish American civilization, as most of the books in English have done.

It will be surprising to most "Continentals" (as Porto Ricans call their fellow-citizens of the United States who live on the mainland) to read of the many distinguished writers, artists and travelers produced on this little island. Not a scanty paragraph, but a brief and well rounded statement is given to such distinguished men as the poets Santiago Rodriguez and José Gautier Benítez, the humorist José Mercado, educators like Fernández Juncos, Cayetano Coll y Toste, and statesmen like Ramón Marín, Román Baldoristy de Castro and Luis Muños Rivera.

SAMUEL GUY INMAN

WE RECOMMEND

The Fall of the Kaiser. By Maurice Baumont. Knopf. $2.75. A translation from the French. The author tries to disentangle the confusing strands of events that led to the Kaiser's resignation and flight to Holland in 1918.

World Workers' Educational Movements: Their Social Significance. By Marius Hansome. Columbia University Press. $5.00. The importance of workers' education is widely recognized today, not only from the point of view of labor's institutions, problems, and propaganda, but also for its cultural value. This volume is an excellent survey of the field, pointing out what is being done in various countries. The author hopes that his work will prove useful to many different groups. It ought to.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case. By Osmond K. Fraenkel. Knopf. 550 pages. $5.00. This volume belongs in the *American Trials* series. The complete court record of the case has already been published. The return "to a subject of such public interest" by an eminent member of the New York bar shows that no matter how fervently Massachusetts may hope that Sacco and Vanzetti be forgotten, there is little hope for that. The book contains little more than summaries and citations from the record and an analysis of the evidence, but that is more than sufficient to explain why the Sacco and Vanzetti case will never die.

Regionalism in France. By R. K. Gooch. Century. 129 pages. $1.75. The problem of administration is growing ever more urgent in all countries. If the central government is to have large powers, it must be efficient, reform its methods, eliminate politics. Unwilling to do this, it is faced by demands for local and regional autonomy. In France the central government has for centuries exercised great prerogatives in local affairs. It is not surprising that "regionalism" under various names has also a long history there. The movement has made significant gains in the last century.

A Traffic in Knowledge. Edited by W. A. Visser 't Hooft. Council of Christian Associations. $.75. This international symposium on the Christian Message presents a French, an American, a Chinese and a Russian approach. Churchmen and student workers interested in international Christian unity will find here some of the divergencies and fundamental agreements that are involved.

Filipino Immigration. By Bruno Lasker. University of Chicago Press. 445 pages. $4.00. The nation as a whole is only beginning to awaken to the meaning of the agitation against the presence of increasing numbers of Filipinos on the West coast. This complete, balanced, and unbiased study of Filipino Immigration into Hawaii and the United States, which makes its appearance under the auspices of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is therefore very timely. In nearly five hundred pages it presents without prejudice or special pleading an authoritative collection of background material on a new but highly explosive issue.

The Christian Saga. By Norman Towar Boggs. Macmillan Co., $9.00. Library shelves are being filled with popularizations of every field of human history. The story of science, of music, of philosophy and of religion have been told. Recently Lewis Browne tried his hand on the story of Christianity but his attempt does not bear comparison with the two volume history of Christian faith and life by Mr. Boggs. *The Christian Saga* is a work marked by a spirited literary style, a sophisticated historical intelligence and a very considerable sympathy for the phenomena of religious life which the author surveys. The relation between religious ideas and ideals with the social and economic circumstances out of which they grew is traced with penetrating insight. The work of Mr. Boggs represents a real achievement in readable history.

CORRESPONDENCE

No Pleasing Prospect

Sir John Anderson, former leader of the "Black and Tans" in Ireland, has now been put in charge of the campaign against the Nationalists in India. This shows that the campaign will at least not err on the side of over-mildness.

Boston, Mass. ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Abolish Segregation!

WE are deeply concerned over the tragic death of Dean Juliette Derricotte and Miss Nina Johnson of Fisk University as the result of an automobile accident in Dalton, Georgia, on November 6. The official report of the Interracial Commission has recognized the genuine kindness on the part of white doctors and residents in Dalton. It has made equally clear the racial discrimination under which Miss Derricotte and her companions suffered.

We are constantly reminded through frequent occurrences in our country of the extent of human suffering and the waste of human life which are inevitable as long as American civilization is organized on bi-racial lines. In such a system social and humanitarian efforts must be carried on upon a dual basis quite impossible for the average community to sustain. We commit ourselves, and we summon other women who have been similarly aroused, to an unremitting effort for a new and different civilization where segregation shall be abolished and where social and remedial resources shall be offered equally to every person who needs them.

We are all members of the Headquarters Committee of the National Student Council of Young Women's Christian Associations, with which Miss Derricotte worked for eleven years. We desire to sign this statement not for the Council or the organization as a whole, but as individuals and as Miss Derricotte's friends and colleagues.

JO WILDER ABRAHAM
FRANCES M. BURLINGAME
ADELAIDE CASE
MRS. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT
VIRGINIA CORWIN
DOROTHY R. CURRIE
MARION CUTHBERT
ESSIE O'DANIEL GWINN
EMILY HICKMAN
ESTHER LLOYD-JONES
MARY HILL KROLL
HULDA NIEBUHR
MARIE RUSS
ADELAIDE D. SIMPSON
NANCY WALKER
CAROLINE D. ZIEGLER

Wanted: A Substitute for War

THE international crisis in China and the Disarmament Conference have focused attention anew upon the means for maintaining peace, and, indirectly, also upon the effectiveness of the organized peace movement in general. While reason necessarily plays a vital part in movements for educating the public toward peace, for improving machinery to control international conflicts and reduce international friction, and for combatting currents hostile to the interests of peace, the decision of human beings in the crisis of an impending war situation does not and cannot, in our present times, turn upon reason. If, conceivably, a people confronted with such a decision demand peace, it must be because reason has been supported by more fundamental psychological attitudes which affirmatively predispose toward peace rather than toward war the individuals constituting that people.

It seems to me that the leaders of the organizations which for convenience I have grouped as the "peace movement," in their enthusiasm for mechanisms of international adjustment and for education by reason, have, at least relatively, neglected these more fundamental and unreasoning predispositions of mankind. The appeal to reason is not an effective weapon against war psychology. That war is profitable or beneficial to a nation was demonstrated twenty-five years ago to be "The Great Illusion"; and yet, on the balance of these predisposing factors in the popular mind today, it is clear, I think, that in time of crisis it is still a war psychology and not a peace psychology which must be dealt with. An impending war exercises a terrible and powerful fascination upon a great portion of the men of a nation; and while this is no doubt a derivative from the primitive combativeness of mankind, the appeal of war extends to many satisfactions and many kinds of participation in its activities, to the shipbuilder, the file clerk, the chaplain, as well as the "first-class fighting man." The chances of great profits in some lines of business are an obvious factor. More important is the opportunity for adventure presented to a generation which has never known war at first hand. Watch today an audience of young people seeing that heart-rending picture, "All Quiet on the Western Front." The almost universal response is excitement, and laughter where the action affords any excuse, but it is not in any real degree horror, indignation or pity for the folly of man and the heroism of men in that grim business.

The first consideration then must be to provide the youth of the world with the opportunity to do adventurous things, to sacrifice, to be heroic, to live for a time fully and dangerously in some worthwhile cause, *within a state of peace.* This is, of course, no recent proposal—William James termed it a "moral equivalent for

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Conscience Versus the State

As a priest I feel compelled to represent the teaching of the Catholic Church accurately and, as I understand that teaching, it assumes the very attitude condemned in Dr. Macintosh by the Supreme Court. There is no blanket assumption by the Church that the United States will always be right in the wars it wages, but there is such an assumption on the part of the Supreme Court.—*J. Elliot Ross in The Commonweal, December 2, 1931.*

Roughly One Per Cent.

Of the approximately 49,000,000 insured workers in the world, about 46,000,000 are covered by compulsory systems. The United States, still adhering to the voluntary principle, has something less than 250,000 insured employees or roughly one per cent of the industrial wage earners. The experience seems to indicate that compulsion is necessary to any adequate application of the insurance principle.—*Bryce M. Stewart, Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, p. 39.*

Sentimental Lies!

During the actual war days, this hardy, cheerful, flag-waving propaganda had an actual mission. . . . But the day for that necessity has passed, and a new necessity has taken its place: the need to teach young America that war is impossible, unthinkable, mad. Women, even more than men, have always tended to a romantic adulation of war, in the form of a brave and handsome soldier dashing along to victory over superior and hideous enemy forces. The young women and the young men alike who have grown up since the war are being fed on just such sentimental lies, and in their minds the seeds are being sown that will put forth poisonous flowers when the world is swept again with war hysteria. —*Editorial, Louisville Courier-Journal, November 13, 1931.*

Bedeviling Our Political System

Today there are no real political parties in the United States and there have been none for years past. What we have in their stead are political voting names, trademarks, which have much political and sentimental value and appeal in different sections and states, but for which there is nothing approaching a uniform content or implication. . . . Our once fairly effective system of party organization, party responsibility, party progress, and party ideals has been blown sky-high. We keep on using the names and following the forms of party organization and party difference, but we are only playing with labels without anything upon which to put them. . . . It remains true, as Adams wrote to Jefferson a hundred and twenty years ago in that famous correspondence of theirs: "The real terrors of both parties have always been, and now are, the fear that they shall lose the elections, and consequently the loaves and fishes; and that their antagonists will obtain them." Here we come upon the crux of the whole matter. John Adams was a wise old man. The desire to win elections, not to establish principles but to gain the authority and emoluments of office, has bedeviled our whole political system.—*Nicholas Murray Butler, in These United States.*

Imagine!

The views of the War and Navy Departments are being subordinated to those of the State Department. The latter department, as a matter of fact, has been interfering in military and naval affairs to an extent which is arousing resentment.—*Army and Navy Journal, January 9, 1932, p. 440.*

Thirty Billions Less

In a little more than two swift years we have seen a shrinkage of about one-half in the value of our national wealth, and—what is more important—a decrease of about one-third in the national income. The people of the United States will probably make $30,000,000,000 less this year than they did in 1929. The number who are out of work and not receiving any income at all is estimated at from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000. Securities worth 100 in 1929 are now worth about 40. The entire economic system is rocked to its foundations. Nor are the shocks confined to any single nation: the entire civilized world is involved. And the end is not yet.—*Evans Clark in the New York Herald Tribune, January 17, 1932.*

Annihilation Through Snow

Mr. Canton's fanciful but practicable invention is called "glass snow." It is made by spraying molten glass under high pressure through very small holes into a vacuum chamber. As the particles come through the nozzle they explode and fall into a cooling liquid where they solidify. These particles, about the size of snow-flakes, each with several sharp cutting edges to penetrate the skin and flesh, are then dipped into deadly poison or bacteria. Dropped over a city from aeroplanes, a blizzard of "glass snow" would not only annihilate most of the population in a few hours, but would also make the city uninhabitable for months as the flakes would continue to be blown about by each fresh gust of wind. There is no known defense against their deadly effect and their wholesale use would mean the complete destruction of our civilization.—*Editorial, American Glass Review.*

Supremely Idiotic

I like to toy with the idea of a pacifist organization got up by no lady and by no chevalier, but by a lewd fellow of the baser sort. It would have for its first objective the absolute prohibition of war under any circumstances against people who can fight. It would oppose such wars, not on the ground that they are murderous, or on the ground that they are unjust, but on the one point that they are supremely idiotic. . . . If the Government planned a campaign against Mexico—as it is pretty sure to do some day—it could undoubtedly raise half a million men by offering every survivor one hundred acres of Mexican land after the conquest. To fulfill this promise would take a little over a tenth of the area of the country, leaving nine-tenths to defray the other costs of the war; but nobody should be compelled to take part in the conquest unless he felt like gambling his life against the stakes offered.—*Gerald W. Johnson in Harper's Monthly Magazine, November 1931.*

war." Today, in peace, the youth becomes a salesman or a machine-tender.

But even this is not sufficiently comprehensive. Why do settled, middle-aged men welcome, while they dread, the advent of war? Perhaps the answer lies in another question: What good is peace to the ordinary man? It is no sufficient answer to say that reason teaches that war is destruction and that the welfare not only of mankind but of the ordinary individual depends on peace.

The great majority of men lead lives that are filled with heavy responsibilities, and at the same time afford little scope for initiative or self-expression—lives, in short, both dull and insecure. Political affairs are conducted on such a scale that no man can feel any dignity in his vote. The routine of daily life and the machine, in office, factory or farm, keeps every man's nose to the grindstone day after day. Complex social forces, such as the present depression, may descend on him and destroy the effort of years, and yet to prepare a defense or remedy is beyond his powers. The fortunate few have during peace an incentive in the rivalries of business or political enterprise; the ordinary man is one of a nation of employees. War will turn out to be a dirty and monotonous business, when it comes; but war as the ordinary man anticipates it in time of peace offers freedom from responsibilities, if that is what he wishes. He need only be obedient. It offers opportunity for close companionship with other men in a common enterprise, a cause noble by tradition; an opportunity to lead, if he has leadership within him, to do acts deemed heroic and to justify his manhood by a display of that universal quality, physical courage. What stake has the ordinary man in peace that can outweigh these anticipated gifts, this tremendous release of spirit?

As a matter of simple fact, peace, as an abstraction, is not an inspiring ideal to most people, unless at the time war-wearv. Unless peace is given a positive, personal content for everyone, it is no more than a negation, the absence of war. Those who seek a slogan, a banner, for rallying the forces of peace, must find something to express the aspiration of the ordinary man for a personal life that counts.

Boston, Mass. HAYDN HAINES

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Institutes of International Affairs

FOR the purpose of promoting more accurate knowledge of current international affairs and stimulating thought on the tremendous questions of the day, the American Friends Service Committee will hold, during the coming summer, three Institutes of International Relations, at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, June 13th to 25th; Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, June 20th to July 2nd; and Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, June 23rd to July 2nd.

Courses of college grade on the economic, political, and spiritual phases of the struggle for world peace will be a feature of each Institute, while shorter courses and lectures will deal with particular topics of current importance. Special courses for teachers are being arranged.

For each Institute the charge will be $35.00 for the entire period, including board, room and tuition. Further information may be obtained from the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Seminar in Mexico

THE Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America announces its Seventh Seminar in Mexico to be held in Mexico City, July 3-23. The three week's program of the Seminar includes lectures, field trips and round table conferences on a wide range of subjects, including education, art, international relations, economics, folk lore and sociology. The discussions will be conducted by such leaders as Judge Florence E. Allen, Dr. Ernest Gruening, Count Rene d'Harnoncourt, Dr. Charles W. Hackett, Miss Elizabeth Wallace and Dr. Frans Blom. Inquiries and applications should be addressed to Hubert C. Herring, Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 112 East 119th Street, New York, N. Y.

Help Needed in Labor Education

RECREATIONAL and educational activities for the children of workers in some of the Southern industrial towns are being planned for the coming summer by the Pioneer Youth of America with a view toward developing a labor movement with a cultural as well as an economic significance. Socially minded teachers who have had experience with experimental methods are needed for this work. There is also a demand for college students to act as assistants. Inquiries should be addressed to Agnes Sailer, Pioneer Youth of America, 45 Astor Place, New York.

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